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**Robert J. Wickenden (1861-1931) and the Late
Nineteenth-Century Print Revival**

Susan J. Gustavison

A Thesis

in

The Department

of

Art History

**Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts at
Concordia University
Montréal, Québec, Canada**

July 1989

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ABSTRACT

Robert J. Wickenden (1861-1931) and the
Late Nineteenth-Century Print Revival

Susan J. Gustavison

Despite an extensive exhibition history, favourable critical reception, the respect of his peers in the art establishment, and fruitful relationships with collectors such as Charles Lang Freer, James E. Scripps and Sir William Van Horne, Robert J. Wickenden (1861-1931) has remained a minor artist unclaimed by any of the national histories (British, Canadian or American) to which he has been linked in biographical entries.

Robert Wickenden was a paradigm of a minor late nineteenth-century artist. His activity as a printmaker and painter of portraits and landscape was supplemented, and at times supported by his role as a collector, dealer and historian in the late nineteenth-century print revival. Although he remained essentially itinerant throughout his career, the nature and the success of Wickenden's career strategies was determined by his domicile in each of three countries - France, Canada, and lastly, the United States.

These three periods are considered chronologically to demonstrate the interweaving of his material production, primarily his printmaking, with the distribution of art from the late nineteenth century. Although his role as a collector, historian and connoisseur has left some traces in history, his role as a dealer and its impact on collections, both major and minor has remained anonymous. His role as a critic is treated in relation to his own artistic practice.

Appendices include a catalogue raisonné of his print production, a brief chronology, and an exhibition list of his works.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Research and study, by their inherent nature require many hours of solitary reading, reflection, interrogation, analysis and eventually, writing. These activities do not occur in a vacuum but rather are often instigated and modified by external stimuli.

I would like to thank Laurier Lacroix, Associate Professor in Art History at the Université du Québec at Montreal for first introducing me to Robert J. Wickenden. It was his interest in Wickenden's prints that led me to delve into the career of this paradigmatic artist. I appreciate his supervision of my thesis, his patient and thorough reading of drafts of the text, his suggestions of bibliographic sources and people to contact, and the queries in the margins that helped to clarify my own thoughts and analysis, often when doubt and discouragement were creeping forward.

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A thesis has a single author but it is not a solitary act.

Robert J. Wickenden (1861-1931) and the
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Robert J. Wickenden (1861-1931) and the Late Nineteenth-Century Print Revival

INTRODUCTION

The participation of Robert J. Wickenden (1861-1931)¹ in the late nineteenth-century print revival is intriguing not just for its own inherent interest and worth, but also for the broader issues that it raises about the history of art - issues such as the role of locale in shaping an artist's production; the array of art activities pursued by minor artists and their treatment in history; the position of original prints, and lithographic prints in particular, in the hierarchy of arts; and the unexpected, often undocumented role of minor artists in the acquisitions of private collectors, a role that is often submerged in history by a focus on the "personnae" of the collector himself.

Wickenden's prolific artistic career spanning the years 1876 until his death in 1931 took place in three countries - France, Canada and the United States. Such biographical entries as exist for Robert Wickenden variously list his nationality as British, Canadian and American.² Although British by birth, he became a naturalised American citizen.³ Nevertheless, no national art history has claimed Wickenden as its own, thus reflecting the ethnocentric or nationalist bias inherent in the writing of a nation's art history. Artists, like Wickenden, who were active in the artistic production of a locale but whose domicile or citizenship linked them with another country seem to fall though the cracks of history.⁴

Wickenden's early experience as a photographer in Toledo and Michigan⁵, was followed by study in the 1880-81 and 1881-82

winter sessions of the Art Students' League in New York under William Merritt Chase and J. Carroll Beckwith. Even at this early stage of his career, Wickenden's characteristic simultaneous pursuit of several art-related activities surfaced. He was listed as the instructor for "Drawing, Painting, Landscape and Composition" at the Detroit Sketching Club for the session beginning October 1, 1881. The following year, in March and April of 1882, he published four newspaper articles reporting on the New York art scene.⁶ It was also at this early date that Wickenden was starting to buy and sell the work of other artists.⁷

This active, and at times aggressive, pursuit of any number of simultaneous artistic activities was a hallmark of Wickenden's entire career whether surveyed as a total entity or in part, such as his participation in the late nineteenth-century print revival. Early in January 1883, Wickenden sailed for Europe and by March 5, he was enrolled in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in the studio of Ernest Hébert.⁸ Apart from two attempts to re-establish himself and his growing family⁹ in the United States and frequent voyages to England and America, Wickenden remained in France, at either Paris or Auvers-sur-Oise until 1896. Not surprisingly for a young artist, his years in France were a time of experimentation in different media and subject matter. In addition, he periodically relocated his studio and travelled widely in search of markets for his work. This essentially itinerant lifestyle, in fact, became an inherent trait of his entire career.

It was during this French period that Wickenden began exhibiting lithographs. In America, they first appeared in

Wickenden's one-man exhibition held in the Galleries of the Chicago Society of Artists, November 1891. The exhibition catalogue noted that proofs were available from the artist or from Frederick Keppel & Co., New York - an indication that Wickenden had, at this early date, already established a relationship with this important print dealer. In France, Wickenden first exhibited lithographs in 1893 at the official Salon of the Société des artistes français. He also participated in the 1895 Exposition Internationale du Centenaire de la Lithographie. This places Wickenden among the early American practitioners of lithography as an original form of art expression, a fact noted at the time¹⁰ but passed over in contemporary writing.¹¹

Wickenden expressed his association with the French artists' revival of interest in lithography by becoming a member of the Société des artistes lithographes français¹² and also the Société des peintres-lithographes.¹³ Although his exhibition history indicates that he exhibited more oils and water colours than lithographs during this period, it was Wickenden's lithographs that received awards and the most critical acclaim. One of his prints, La Rentrée du Troupeau, was included in the third album of original lithographs published under the direction of Léonce Bénédict by L'Artiste, along with such artists as Félix Bracquemond, Félix Buhot and the Spaniard, Ulpiano Checa.

Wickenden's own artistic production, however, was never to hold his complete attention, due partly to financial considerations and partly to his own restless nature. During this period of French domicile, Wickenden was very actively buying and selling the work of other artists active in Europe to North American private

collectors, whether major figures like Charles Lang Freer and James Scripps, both of Detroit, or lesser known ones, such as S. B. Coyl, F. E. Driggs, and H. S. Pingree, Mayor of Detroit. He regularly sold these paintings and prints to the fledgling Hanna and Ives gallery in Detroit, later to be known as Hanna & Noyes. Although Wickenden did not concentrate solely on prints, they did constitute a large proportion of his transactions. These sales, recorded in Wickenden's private papers, have never been mentioned in connection with the collections of Freer and Scripps, nor with that of Sir William Van Horne, a patron during Wickenden's later Canadian and American periods. Most accounts of art collections focus on the personality and taste of the collector, with little or no analysis of the origins of the purchases (from a commercial rather than an aesthetic standpoint) or of other external forces that shaped the collections.

The second major phase of Wickenden's participation in the late nineteenth-century print revival dates from his decision to test his success in the Canadian art market. Leaving his family in Auvers-sur-Oise, he sailed in the fall of 1896 for North America visiting Toledo, Ohio en route to Quebec City.¹⁴ By November, he was already holding a one-man exhibition, comprised of works shipped from France including lithographs, as well as new work executed in the Quebec area. Wickenden continued his usual pattern of trips across the Atlantic¹⁵ and elsewhere during his Canadian period of domicile which lasted until early 1906.

The role of the lithographs in Wickenden's total art production in this Canadian period represented a major shift in his tactics. Whereas the lithographs produced in France were exhibited as

original works of art (despite their close relationship with his work in other media), the lithographs produced during his Canadian stay took on the element of advertising - advertising the artist and his success in obtaining commissions to execute portraits of leading members of Quebec society. A brochure¹⁶ announcing the edition of lithographs produced by Wickenden after his oil portrait of the Cardinal E.-A. Taschereau in 1898, for example, promoted its sale based as much on a cult of the personality of the cleric as on the opportunity to own an original work of art.

During his Canadian domicile, Wickenden continued to sell the work of European artists as well as his own to major and minor collectors both in Quebec City and Montreal. Among the Montreal purchasers, he made close contact with Sir William Van Horne, developing a friendship that included painting together, discussing art¹⁷ both specifically and philosophically, executing commissions, and selling Van Horne work by other artists. This association between Wickenden and Van Horne continued after Sir William's death - leading to further commissions from Adaline Van Horne and the engagement of Wickenden to catalogue the Van Horne Collection in 1926.

The final phase of Wickenden's involvement in the late nineteenth-century print revival coincides with his domicile in the United States, from 1906 until his death in 1931. The active production of lithographs never occupied his attention again¹⁸, despite the urging of professionals in the print domain such as Frank Weitenkampf, Curator of Prints at the New York Public Library.¹⁹ His singular use of the print media was a 1910

commission for an etching of Sir Thomas More, after a recently discovered oil attributed to Albrecht Dürer. This etching was used as a form of advertisement to promote interest in the oil portrait itself, which its owners wanted to sell at a substantial profit.

During this period, Wickenden's technical and historical knowledge of prints occasionally became a source of revenue when he was asked by dealers, like Frederick Keppel & Co. and the American Art Galleries to offer "expert opinion" on specific works. Within the museum world, FitzRoy Carrington, Curator of Prints and Drawing at The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, would refer a student to Wickenden for technical advice on the production of "cliché-verre" prints.²⁰

It was also at this stage that Wickenden turned his knowledge of original prints - whether lithographs, engravings or etchings - into a series of articles for the journal The Print Collector's Quarterly, published first by the New York print dealer Frederick Keppel and subsequently by The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston under the editorship of FitzRoy Carrington. In a sense then, Wickenden has completed the cycle from printmaker to printmaking-historian. His articles about such printmakers as Charles-François Daubigny, Jean-François Millet, Corot and Charles Jacque disseminated information to the public about artists whose work he had been collecting and selling since 1881. Not surprisingly, the artists he wrote about were those whose style and subject matter had most influenced his own active production. His texts along with others in The Quarterly helped fill a gap in the critical writing of the first two decades of the twentieth century.

Wickenden's sizeable body of writings are still cited today in exhibition catalogues, books, theses, and articles by authors examining the artists known as the Barbizon School.²¹

Looking back with the benefit of historical distance, the broad artistic career of Robert Wickenden can be considered a paradigm of a late nineteenth-century minor artist. A focus on his print production illustrates this premise just as convincingly as an examination of his entire career. The classification "minor artist" does not carry with it connotations of "lack of success" or "lack of ability". Rather it can be applied on both aesthetic and sociological grounds to a broad range of artists, probably the vast majority of artists active at any given time.

Like other professional artists, whether major or minor, Wickenden was technically proficient in drawing, composition, and the use of any of his chosen media. In terms of style and subject matter, he developed an aesthetic that was closely related to, or was influenced by artists such as Corot, Millet and Daubigny. While this mode was considered avant-garde at an earlier period, at the active period of Wickenden's career art in the Barbizon mood was widely popular appealing to a conservative public.

The many strategies adopted by Wickenden throughout his career, strategies that he undertook both simultaneously and successively, demonstrate the many roles that artists, both major and minor, are obliged to adopt to achieve some measure of financial stability. It is, of course, a commonplace in biographies of all artists, to observe a certain multiplicity of roles - artist and teacher, artist and illustrator are but two common patterns. It is, however, the

extent to which Wickenden juggled his wide variety of art activities in addition to the actual production of art per se, which permits his consideration as a paradigm of a minor artist. Wickenden's simultaneous activity as a printmaker, collector, dealer, historian and connoisseur - all roles relevant to his place in the late nineteenth-century print revival - were complemented by his work as a photographer, teacher, a painter of portraits and landscapes in oil and watercolour, as a poet, as a researcher, and as a catalogueur.

Wickenden attracted many friends and supporters but they never constituted a steady, on-going clientele of sufficient magnitude to allow him a singular focus on the production of art, however wide a latitude that presented. While these supporters purchased the artist's work from time to time, the purchases were small in number and rarely continued throughout the artist's career. Even if his entire edition of a print sold, at prices of \$2.00 to \$15.00 per print the total revenue was always small in relation to the time and expense incurred. Consequently, Wickenden was always searching for new customers and periods of financial success were always followed by lean times. A reliable level of financial comfort was never realized on a continual basis.²²

Although now considered a minor artist, Wickenden was prolific with frequent opportunities to exhibit in group or solo exhibitions, and he received many commissions in addition to speculative work. Such exhibitions and commissions were, more often than not, marked by favourable critical reception in newspapers and journals. Nevertheless, the artist was not actively championed by any one critic or dealer on an on-going basis. As a

result, Wickenden's success in the market place never achieved the momentum necessary to push the artist to the forefront for more than brief periods and the revenue generated was never sufficient in the long run. In short, Robert Wickenden's scattered output was prodigious but he never took on the mythic or legendary proportions of the artist as a larger-than-life hero. He remained a minor artist.

Consequently, Robert Wickenden has remained in the "foothills", not the "mountain peaks" of art history, to borrow a metaphor put forward by Francis Haskell.²³ And like other foothills in art history, Wickenden has received scant attention. Since the early 1970s, the "foothills" of the nineteenth century have increasingly been a focus of art historians breaking away from the Great Man theory of art history to reveal the layers and rich diversity of art production at any given moment.²⁴ Since the print media, and lithography in particular, have been viewed as occupying a lower position in the hierarchy of the arts than painting, they have until recent decades received less attention than painting in nineteenth-century art history and criticism. Thus, recent research on the print revival should be considered an integral part of the wave of revisionist phenomena prevalent in nineteenth-century studies.

This interest has spawned painstaking research resulting in informative theses, books and exhibition catalogues covering the last half of the nineteenth century²⁵, or what is sometimes called "the other nineteenth century".²⁶ Attention has been directed to the print revival in Europe, particularly France, more than its occurrence in North America. It has also tended to focus on major artists. Some

recent efforts have been made to document the print revival in the United States.²⁷ To date, virtually no attention has been paid to Canada. As will be seen in the coming chapters, Robert Wickenden's involvement in the print revival touched on all three continents.

If the "mountain peaks" are represented by the few artists constituting the avant-garde, they can only be reached by first passing through the foothills - "the inevitable link between the most original efforts and the historical context".²⁸ It is this "inevitable link" that is so often forgotten in the history of art, partly through a focus on the avant-garde and partly through the vagaries of fashionable taste. James S. Ackerman, the American art historian, links this focus on the avant-garde with the theoretical underpinnings of art history as established by Hegel.

Hegelian art history...tends to give the highest evaluation to works of art that promote or accelerate a condition that appears (in hindsight) to be either evolutionary or in accord with the spirit of the time and place (Zeitgeist) and to categorize those that do not as eccentric or retrograde.²⁹

The nineteenth-century print revival was not a case of artists rediscovering or reclaiming the lost arts of woodcutting, engraving, etching and lithography. None of the print media were "lost". It was a case of artists interested in creating original works of art turning their attention to media that had become, in the main, the province of craftsmen engaged in reproductive and illustrative work for commercial printers.³⁰ It was also not a case of only a few artists whom history has classified as "avant-garde" turning to printmaking.

A revival, rather, suggests a ground swell of interest in printmaking by many artists with many different styles who appeal to a broadly-based audience; that is, dealers, critics and buyers of varying taste. A revival, therefore, encompasses both production and reception.

Robert Wickenden took on all roles. It can be argued, as Jerrold Lanes has done about Boston painters contemporaneous to Wickenden, that minor figures "may not transcend their time [but] they can recapitulate it".³¹ It is in this vein that Robert Wickenden will be discussed although the means of documenting and interpreting a minor artist who recapitulates his time is not without its problems. For example, as noted, Robert Wickenden does not appear in any national art histories. Furthermore, his career does not fall in a period when periodicals and newspapers have been extensively indexed. His biographical entries indicate a few sources but there is a natural repetition as each author builds on the work of a predecessor. Moreover, the continual itinerancy of Wickenden throughout his career lends a totally unpredictable element to the search for sources of information.

A case in point are the biographical entries indicating that Wickenden was resident in France for seventeen years (1883-1900).³² The fact is, however, that during this period he made two attempts to re-establish himself in the United States - firstly in the New York area from October 1885 to July 1886, and secondly in Chicago from October 1891 to April 1892. Furthermore, even when resident in one locale, Wickenden remained essentially itinerant throughout his career. For a researcher then, the chances of finding

newspaper or journal articles on Wickenden's activities at a given time and place are slim.³³

Equally, the knowledge of art historians of the many layers of art activity relies heavily on chance. What authors and critics did the artist know and were they favourably disposed towards him? One of the more extensive biographical entries for Robert Wickenden is found in E. Bénézit's ten volume work Dictionnaire des Peintres, Sculpteurs, Dessinateurs et Graveurs.³⁴ Although the entry for Wickenden more or less follows a standard format, it carries a personal tone absent from other entries. For example, the entry begins:

Ce charmant et délicat artiste a montré une égale supériorité dans toutes les formes d'expression d'art auxquelles il s'est adonné. Il est aussi bon peintre que brillant écrivain, aussi subtil lithographe que sensible poète.

While it is not suggested that Bénézit has written a "puff-piece", it must also be noted that the entry was based not on impersonal data but rather on personal knowledge of the artist himself. This is evident in a letter from Bénézit to Wickenden "artiste-peintre" in Bethel, Conn. He writes:

Que d'événements depuis nos bonnes causeries de Paris! Nous parlons très souvent de vous Mme Bénézit et moi et nous serions heureux d'avoir de vos nouvelles ainsi que de vos enfants. Un petit mot nous fera grand plaisir.³⁵

In a very real sense, Robert J. Wickenden was his own biographer or historian, for he saved a prodigious quantity of the material evidence of his career. Among the Robert J. Wickenden papers are exhibition catalogues, many of the checklist variety; newspaper clippings, frequently incompletely documented as to date and source; letters received and often draft copies of outgoing letters; bills relating both to his art-related purchases and to his personal life; photographs; scraps of paper recording random ideas and moments of inspiration; illustrations that caught his fancy; and unpublished writings in prose and poetry. The quantity of evidence that has survived is nothing short of remarkable given the number of times that he moved his ever-growing family. Furthermore, Wickenden's descendants have inherited the conservation trait. They have valued and preserved these traces of history.³⁶ It is due, and only due to this wealth of material, that a thesis can be written on Robert John Wickenden and his participation in the late-nineteenth century print revival.

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

1. Robert John Wickenden was born July 8, 1861 in Rochester, England to S. Thomas and Charlotte W. (née Quaife) Wickenden. S. Thomas had died at sea January 1, 1861. His siblings were James William (b. 1850) and Thomas Rogers (B. 1853) followed by a sister who died in infancy. (Alfred Ahier Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia: Memoirs of Robert John Wickenden, Artist, of His Wife Ada Louise Ahier and their family, to 1900 [Unpublished manuscript held in private collections, Montreal and Ottawa] 3-7.)
2. E. Bénézit, Dictionnaire des Peintres, Sculpteurs, Dessinateurs et Graveurs (Paris: Librairie Gründ, 1976, Vol. 10) 722 indicates that Wickenden is from the English school. H. Russell Harper, Early Painters and Engravers in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970) indicates Wickenden's British birthplace. His inclusion in this volume is often misinterpreted as indicating Canadian citizenship rather than merely identifying Wickenden as an artist active in Canada. P.H. Falk, Who Was Who in American Art (Madison, Wisc.: Soundview Press, 1985) 678, indicates his British birth and arrival in America at age 13. Henry James Morgan, The Canadian Men and Women of the Time (Toronto: William Briggs, 1912) indicates Wickenden's British birthplace and American domicile. Evelyn de Rostaing McMann, The Royal Canadian Academy of Arts: Exhibitions and Members 1880-1979 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981) 427, indicates Wickenden's American citizenship. U. Thieme and F. Becker, Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler (Leipzig: Verlag Von E.A. Seeman, 1907-1950) 126, indicate that Wickenden was Canadian.
3. It is not known exactly when Wickenden became a naturalized American citizen. That he was American, however, is confirmed by a passport application dated April 20, 1918.
4. This characterization of Wickenden as "being from somewhere else" is a recurrent theme in the critical reception of his work. This trait will be examined more specifically in the context of his exhibitions.
5. Robert Wickenden and his mother emigrated from England to Toledo, Ohio in September 1873 to join two brothers, James and Thomas who had emigrated in 1869 and 1870, respectively. They had chosen Toledo because an uncle, Robert Quaife, was Minister of

the Congregational Church there. In 1876, Wickenden apprenticed with the Toledo photography firm of North & Oswald. The following year he opened his own photography studio in a tent at the corner of Front and Main Streets, Toledo. Later, he moved his business to Dundee, Michigan for a period of several years. It is thought that he pursued some form of art studies at this time. Sometime before 1880, he moved to Detroit where he met Sam Coyl and his family - patrons who in the coming years often provided financial and material support to Robert Wickenden and his family. (A.A. Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia, 7-11.)

6. "An Art Letter from the Metropolis", March 15, April 5, April 8, April 26, 1882. Unidentified clippings in the Robert J. Wickenden Scrapbook, Robert J. Wickenden Papers, Private Collection, Montreal. Henceforth, all letters and bills cited are part of this collection, unless stated otherwise. Incompletely identified clippings are from the Scrapbook of Robert Wickenden in the same collection.

7. Horatio R. Harper, Harper Brothers, New York, letter to Wickenden, May 25, 1881. "...Trusting to see you (and you might bring the Corot)...." On February 12, 1881, Wickenden had purchased some prints by Millet, Fortuny, Meissonier, and after Corot from Delorière, Editeur d'Estampes, Eaux-Fortes, 155, rue de Seine, Paris.

8. References to Wickenden often indicate that he studied under Courtois and Collin and at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts under Ernest Hébert and Luc Olivier Merson. (e.g. Paintings, Aquarelles, Drawings, Lithographs, Etchings by Robert J. Wickenden [New York: Frederick Keppel, 1894]. Exhibition catalogue.) It would seem that his study with Courtois and Collin was at the Academy Colarossi in the brief period following his Atlantic crossing (departed New York, January 30, 1883) and his enrollment at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, March 5. Luc Olivier Merson was Hébert's studio assistant.

9. Robert and Ada Wickenden had seven children: Alfred Ahier, Alice Marie (Fifille), Yvonne Ada, Jean-François, Robert T. D., Henry Robert, and Marguerite Heloise (Marg).

10. M. H. Spielmann, "Original Lithography. The Revival on the Continent," The Magazine of Art 20 (January 1897): 152, wrote: "The American interest [in original lithography] is mainly sustained by Mr. R. J. Wickenden...." The writer considered James McNeill Whistler

(whose first lithographs date from 1878 under the guidance of Thomas Way) part of the English renaissance in lithography.

11. James Watrous, American Printmaking: A Century of American Printmaking 1880-1890 (Madison, Wisconsin: The U. of Wisconsin Press, 1984) 37, mentions only Joseph Pennell as "one of the first Americans to understand the potentialities of lithography as a medium of fine art in contrast to its earlier role as a graphic means of commercial replication".

12. The objective of this association, established in 1884, was to perpetuate the art of lithography. Its members included commercial printmakers as well as artists. The complete dates of Wickenden's membership are not known, although he is listed as a member in 1892.

13. This association, established in March 1897, was devoted exclusively to original printmaking. Only artists, as opposed to commercial printmakers, were invited to join.

14. Robert Wickenden rarely travelled directly between two points. His frequent trips were always marked by stops to visit fellow artists, patrons, critics and friends along the route. Even the briefest stop between trains in Montreal, for example, was used to call at the offices of La Presse to see the art critic, Albert Laberge. (Robert Wickenden, Danbury, Conn., letter to Albert Laberge, December 29, 1920, Robert J. Wickenden Archives file, T.R. Lee Collection, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto.)

15. Wickenden did not move his family to Canada until May 1900. At that time they moved not to Quebec City, but to Montreal where Wickenden took a studio in the Y.M.C.A. Building on Dominion Square, now the site of the Sun Life Building.

16. Pamphlet published by the Secrétariat de l'Archevêque, Québec.

17. Robert J. Wickenden, "Charles-François Daubigny, Painter and Etcher," The Print Collector's Quarterly 3, 2 (April 1913): 177.

18. Wickenden's prolific production in this period constituted oils and watercolours of landscapes and portraits, executed both on commission and as speculative works. Although domiciled in the

New York area, the bulk of his exhibitions - both solo and group - was in Canada.

19. Frank Weitenkampf, New York, letter to Wickenden, September 25, 1905.

20. Boughton Cobb, Cambridge Mass., letter to Wickenden, October 19, 1914. "I am taking a course in etchings and engravings under Mr. FitzRoy Carrington. On asking him the precise method of making a cliché-verre print (because I wanted to attempt one myself) he told me to write you...."

21. For example, Peter Bermingham, American Art in the Barbizon Mood (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1975) 183, cites Wickenden's article "Charles Jacque," The Print Collector's Quarterly 2 (February 1912): 75-101, as does Robert L. Herbert, Barbizon Revisited (N.Y.:Clark & Way, Inc., 1962) 72. Jacquelynn Baas and Richard S. Field, The Artistic Revival of the Woodcut in France 1850-1900 (Ann Arbor, Michigan: The U. of Michigan Museum of Art, 1984) 160, cite Wickenden's article "The Art and Etchings of Jean-François Millet," The Print Collector's Quarterly, 2 (April 1912): 224-250. Madeleine A. Fidell, "The Graphic Art of Charles-François Daubigny," V. 1 (Dissertation, New York University, 1974): 168, cites Wickenden's article "Charles-François Daubigny, Painter and Etcher," The Print Collector's Quarterly 3, 2 (April 1913):176-206.

22. Russell Lynes, The Art Makers of Nineteenth Century America (N.Y.: Atheneum, 1970) 256, makes a similar observation about artists in North America. He writes: "Popular taste does not sustain an artist's reputation for long, and when contemporary critical taste does not support what the general public wants, a painter's work is likely to languish for a little and then drop out of sight."

23. Francis Haskell, Rediscoveries in Art: Some aspects of taste, fashion and collecting in England and France (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1976) 153. Haskell uses this metaphor to illustrate the fact that there were "many more artists at work in [sixteenth century] Italy than could be found recorded in the catalogues of the museums of private collections of the day". What was true then, is equally true of any period in any locale documented by art history.

24. Albert Boime, The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press,

1971) is an early example of the revisionist approach to nineteenth-century art history.

25. A few examples of the general texts are: Janine Bailly-Herzberg, La Société des Aquafortistes: 1862-1867 Vol. 1 & 11. (Paris, 1972); Forgotten Printmakers of the 19th Century (Chicago: Kovler Gallery, 1967); Douglas Druick and Peter Zegers, La Pierre Parle: Lithography in France 1848-1900 (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1981); and Jacquelynn Baas and Richard S. Field, The Artistic Revival of the Woodcut in France 1850-1900 (Ann Arbor, Mich.: The U. of Michigan Museum of Art, 1984).

Charles Rosen and Henri Zerner, Romanticism and Realism: The Mythology of Nineteenth-Century Art (New York: Norton, 1984) vi, have suggested that the nineteenth century has only recently seemed sufficiently distant to allow for reinterpretation.

26. D'Argencourt, Louise and Douglas Druick, The Other Nineteenth Century: Paintings and Sculpture in the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph M. Tannenbaum (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1978).

27. James Watrous, A Century of American Printmaking 1880-1980 (Madison, Wisc: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1984); Rona Schneider, "The American Etching Revival: Its French Sources and Early Years," The American Art Journal XIV,4 (Autumn 1982): 40-65; and Gabriel P. Weisberg and Ronnie L. Zakon, Between Past and Present: French, English, and American Etching 1850-1950 (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1967).

28. Albert Boime, The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century, viii.

29. James S. Ackerman, "Toward a New Social Theory of Art," New Literary History IV,2 (Winter 1973): 319. Ackerman mentions that E.H. Gombrich made the same observation in In Search of Cultural History (Oxford 1969) as did Arnold Hauser in The Philosophy of Art History. (New York, 1959).

30. This statement should not be interpreted as saying that no artists practised printmaking. Rather, it is an indication that relatively few artists turned their attention to original printmaking.

31. Jerrold Lanes, "Boston Painting 1880-1930," Artforum 10,5 (January 1972): 49.

32. For example, E. Bénézit, Dictionnaire des Peintres. Sculpteurs. Dessinateurs et Graveurs Vol. 10, 722.

33. In proceeding solely on the basis of known biographical entries, there was insufficient data in published sources to reconstruct with any accuracy the complexity of Wickenden's career. Documents located in the Robert J. Wickenden Papers - catalogues, letters, clippings and photos found by tracing descendants of the artist - have been crucial in the preparation of this thesis.

34. Bénézit, Dictionnaire des Peintres Vol. 10, 722. This book was first published in 1917.

35. E. Bénézit, Paris, letter to Wickenden, August 5, 1915.

36. The author is extremely grateful to all the members of the Wickenden family who have been unfailingly enthusiastic, supportive and most generous in making these documents available for extended consultation.

CHAPTER 1. FRANCE: THE FORMATIVE YEARS 1883-1886

Robert Wickenden's early years in France were a period of education and experimentation. It was a time to explore the artistic resources of Paris and its environs in every way - the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, the Louvre, the Musée Luxembourg, the Bibliothèque Nationale, galleries, the catacombs and other sights of Paris, the theatres, private intellectual salons, lectures, readings and the company of contemporary artists of all nationalities. It was a time to experiment with the oil and watercolour media, with different types of subject matter, and to seek out various exhibition venues. It was also a time to indulge a nascent interest in the past - whether literary, historical or art historical. Not the least of Wickenden's concerns was the development of a clientele for his own art production. He also endeavoured to develop and satisfy the aspirations of this clientele for the work of European artists. At this stage, Wickenden's interest in prints seems to have been that of an observer.

Like hundreds of other North Americans¹ before and after him, Wickenden left New York on January 13, 1883 to further his education at the Parisian mecca of official art, the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, and to seek recognition in the international art world.² A newspaper clipping of 1884 summarized the stage Wickenden had reached when he left for Europe.

About four years ago a young Englishman aged 19 came to Detroit and commenced giving lessons in painting. His name was Robert J. Wickenden. Notwithstanding his youth and

reservedness he quickly became known to the art connoisseurs and patrons of the city, and his class soon contained a number of very successful pupils from among the best families. The merit of his paintings, too, met with a much more ready recognition than is usually accorded to the abilities of a local artist. Still, his success was not in the least undeserved. He worked industriously at his easel, producing many paintings which now occupy places in some of the best galleries in Detroit. As his talents developed he felt the need of more instruction in coloring and drawing, and in 1882 went to New York and thence to Paris....³

Late in December 1882 at Detroit, Wickenden had bought a bill of exchange on Paris for 1200 francs - his stake for the sojourn abroad. This money was probably a combination of his own savings and loans advanced by supportive patrons. Wickenden was scrupulous about repaying such loans even though it might take him many years. Charles Stinchfield of Detroit was one such backer as an 1890 letter indicated.

I have this day received through the hands of Mr. S.B. Coyl⁴ your kind favor of the 2nd inst., together with sundry bills, and a draft on Detroit for \$200 to cancel the obligation made to me when you went to Europe to pursue your study. Enclosed please find your memorandum given to me. I want to say Mr. Wickenden that since your acquaintance was first made I have esteemed you both as a man and as a friend...I want you to feel that every obligation which you owe me has been more than fully repaid. Indeed I feel that I am owing you...Trusting that success will meet all your efforts....⁵

In addition to loans, Wickenden also set off with commissions from patrons like the publisher Horatio R. Harper of Harper & Bros.,

Franklin Square, New York. A letter from Harper of this year mentioned that although he was eager to receive his commission, Wickenden could take his time in completing the work.⁶ Nevertheless, when delivered such commissions were received with lots of advice, albeit well-meaning.

The picture as a whole is charming and much admired in point of the tone and harmony throughout and with some exceptions the drawing is excellent. I confess I am very agreeably surprised notwithstanding my confidence in your prospective ability...You have done more, however, than I had looked for in so short a time.

I shall now point out what others agree with me in believing to be defects in drawing and I must ask you to make the corrections more for the interest that I have in your success, I assure you, than I take in a pretty peasant girl with whom I have never exchanged a word or a glance.

The right foot is very awkwardly arranged, and but for "artistic" license and the easy folds of the drapery it must almost appear deformed. Both feet and hands, although those of a peasant girl seem almost too masculine - particularly the foot exposed, although I can appreciate the tendency of the hand becoming enlarged from a constant use of the guitar and other string instruments. The action in the fingers is excellent and the expression of the face sympathetic and most interesting.

I should prefer to have you set a value on your picture not beyond me! I shall be most pleased to take it, as I like the subject.⁷

On his arrival in Paris in February, Wickenden immediately made contact with New York artist friends already installed in the city - Denman, Lamb, Smith, Gordon, Scott, Wiles, Parker, Rice, and Fred Spencer.⁸ It was apparently Spencer⁹ who urged him to seek admission to the atelier of Ernest Hébert at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts which he did by March 5. The choice of atelier was an unusual one for an American art student at that time.¹⁰

Nevertheless, it would seem that Wickenden plunged into his studies, eager to reap the maximum benefit of both the classroom activities and the cultural life of Paris and its environs. In addition to the opportunity of drawing from the model in Hébert's atelier, he could also have taken advantage of the "weekly and bi-weekly lecture courses in history and archaeology, aesthetics and art history...."¹¹ It seems unlikely that he enrolled in the engraving atelier, the only print medium that was part of the Ecole curriculum.¹² Although it is not specifically known from whom or when Wickenden learned the print media, his wide-ranging curiosity obviously enabled him to acquire the necessary skills during his stay in France. He had an enormous interest in art, literature and history and throughout his life, his wide reading on art and literature¹³ of all periods was supplemented by frequent visits to museums and galleries. Much later Wickenden wrote:

I still remember the intense delight experienced when, as a student in the Quartier Latin, I first happened across some of these early proofs [by Charles Jacques] done at Cricey and thereabouts in 1843 and 1844.¹⁴

He also mentioned another enlightening encounter.

I remember a morning spent with [James McNeill] Whistler at his house on the rue du Bac at Paris, when he opened his portfolios and entered into a discussion on the relative merits of etching and lithography, both of which he so well understood.¹⁵

It's possible then, to date Wickenden's dual interest in printmaking and painting as early as 1883 and 1884 when he was an Ecole des Beaux-Arts student. His self-education was an on-going process prodded by an innate intellectual curiosity.

As a student, Wickenden spent his mornings in the atelier of Hébert, his afternoons in the museums copying masters, and his evenings with other art students (mostly British or American)¹⁶ or with Fred Spencer at the salon of a Mme de Maulpied on rue Roquepiene, Paris.¹⁷ He also explored the sights of Paris, attended concerts, the theatre, and readings of various authors like Wordsworth and Tennyson.¹⁸ One of his early copies was from Rembrandt's Head of a Young Man,¹⁹ followed by an oil after Murillo's Immaculate Conception, also in the Louvre. Beside him Thomas Cole was making a wood engraving of the Mona Lisa.²⁰

Despite his intense activity, Wickenden did not neglect the Detroit market that he had been cultivating prior to his European studies. An 1884 newspaper article reported:

He is still the pupil of this artist [Hébert] under whose instruction he has already achieved a reputation of which his friends are proud. From time to time he has sent paintings to Detroit that have been purchased by his friends and admirers, as soon as they were offered for sale. The most notable installment of his works was received the past week. The chief piece of the number is a copy of Murillo's great masterpiece

"Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception", painted in 1678 and not long ago purchased by the French government for the enormous sum of \$118,000. This painting is now contained in the collection of the Louvre, where for five months Mr Wickenden labored on his copy. The latter is one-fourth the size of the original, being 54 x 36 inches, but embraces every figure contained on the large canvas on which Murillo spent the best days of his life. It is said to be the only copy in America. In coloring and drawing it is exact, and the shadows of the original are brought out with especially fine force. Mr. Wickenden's forte is figure painting and in this piece he had opportunity to display his best powers to their utmost. The painting was sold by Hanna & Ives²¹ to the first gentleman who saw it - a banker of this city -and will find a fitting place in one of the best collections in Detroit.²²

At the same time as he was selling his own work, Wickenden was also (as he would continue to do throughout his career) selling the work of other artists²³ to his own patrons. The tone and phrasing of the correspondence indicate the buyers' reliance on Wickenden as a knowledgeable authority on the works he was selling - not just in a general sense, but in the personal sense of knowing the artists themselves²⁴, their studios, and their sketching haunts. He was treated as someone on the inside who would seek out art of quality, but also art at reasonable prices for his clientele. Their demands on Wickenden were not just confined to business transactions, however. They frequently expressed in strong terms their desire for personal contact with the artist - either by letters or visits to their homes.

Although Wickenden was sending his canvases home to Detroit, it was in the official art world of France that he was seeking

recognition and trying to establish his credentials as an artist. That recognition and acceptance was then used by Wickenden, as was the practise of other North American artists, to establish his reputation in the United States. During the second year in Paris, his oil painting La Glaneuse en Forêt, Fontainebleau²⁵ was accepted in the official Salon of the Société des artistes français. Exhibited along with several thousand other works, the canvas nevertheless caught the attention of the critic from the Morning News of Paris. He noted that the American artists "quite hold their own with the triumphs of French art exhibited at the Salon held at the Palais de l'Industrie".²⁶ The subject matter and the location indicate a link with the tradition of the French Barbizon artists, a tradition to which Wickenden allied himself even more closely in the coming years.

Wickenden's second summer in Europe (1884) was spent on the Isle of Jersey with Fred Spencer²⁷ pursuing the theme of cows in the landscape, among other bucolic subjects.²⁸ His companion of the previous summer, Henry Kenyon, opted for the artists' colony at Pont-Aven but kept in touch with Wickenden. He wrote that, "I don't think you would like the cattle. They are very small and inferior looking...."²⁹ Through November and December³⁰, Wickenden was apparently still working on the cattle theme. To his friends the progress of his career seemed enviable as Kenyon wrote:

...Like yourself I don't want any more of that [the Atelier] than I can help...You must be pretty plush travelling back and forth between England, Paris and Jersey. But then you can professionally afford it.³¹

The beginning of January 1885, however, illustrated just how precarious the burgeoning success of a young artist can be. Angered by Wickenden's engagement to Ada Ahier³², Sam Coyl refused a shipment of pictures that Wickenden had sent to Detroit, including the ambitious painting of the previous summer Jerseys at Home. He also succeeded in turning a number of Wickenden's much-needed clients against the artist. Wickenden's patronage was cut in half.³³

Wickenden's response was to branch out - exhibiting at the Dudley Gallery in London, at Toledo³⁴, the Detroit Art Association exhibition at Hanna & Noyes, the National Academy exhibition in New York, and the American Art Association.³⁵ He won a medal in the fall at the Tri-State Fair (of Ohio, Michigan and Indiana), but the result everywhere was the same - practically no sales. Furthermore, the newspaper critics were less enthusiastic than previously. In Detroit, a brief notice was ambivalent.

Mr. Robert Wickenden has returned from Paris to fill the Hanna & Ives gallery of paintings and watercolors with some of the fruits of his labors. Mr. Wickenden is an idealist set down in the midst of a surging multitude of realists. It is hard to persuade this perverse generation that a young woman ever sat upon the spreading branches of the oak and touched the lyre, while her sheep browsed over the broad fields. Such a scene seems as unreal to us today as the pastoral pictures in Sir Philip Sidney's "Arcadia" or in Virgil's Eclogues. It is our fault that this is so but that does not change the fact.³⁶

Early in 1886, Robert and Ada Wickenden left Europe, returning to the United States where he continued to submit paintings for exhibition. Despite his extended European absence,

Wickenden seems to have maintained good contact with New York artists for on January 14 (just after his arrival), he received an invitation to join other signers concerning the formation on a Society of Artists at the Academy of Design.³⁷ Finances, however, continued to be a problem and by June, Wickenden was forced to give up his rented studio at The Sherwood Building in New York.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. H. Barbara Weinberg, The American Pupils of Jean-Léon Gérôme (Fort Worth, Texas: Amon Carter Museum, 1984) 1, estimates that 2,000 Americans born prior to 1880 travelled to Paris for art training.

2. Wickenden landed in Liverpool, went on to London where he visited the National Gallery recording in his diary the "wonderful things" he had viewed like works by Turner, Rembrandt, Landseer, Van Dyke and Rossetti. He visited relatives in Rochester and landed February 1 at Calais. (A.A. Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia, 15-16.)

3. "A Young Englishman's Successful Art Career in Detroit," Detroit Post (August 17, 1884).

4. S. [Sam] B. Coyl and his wife Mary were Detroit patrons of Wickenden for many years. Coyl was an ex-U.S. army officer who was blinded by the alkaline desert dust during his service in the campaigns against the Sioux Indians. He subsequently realized a substantial fortune in real estate. Art was his hobby and he used to physically "feel" the art works in his possession. The Coyls had no children of their own, but they never failed to remember the Wickenden children with favours at Christmas and other occasions. (A. A. Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia, 11-12.)

5. Chas. Stinchfield, Detroit, letter to Robert Wickenden, December 5, 1890. Wickenden exhibited a commissioned portrait of Master Charles Whitney Stinchfield of this family at Hanna & Noyes Art Galleries, Detroit, January 5-12, 1895.

George F. Moore of the wholesale dry goods firm of Edson, Moore & Co., Detroit was another supportive patron. "...I will assure you again of my sincere friendship and will repeat what I said to you in Paris that should you ever find yourself in need of any funds or anything that I can help you to, please feel free to call on me and ever count on me as one of your sincere friends...." (Moore, letter to Wickenden, July 23, 1883.)

6. Harper, New York, letter to Wickenden, July 24, 1883. "...Your prize illustration will be eagerly looked forward to and carefully guarded and I earnestly wish you the greatest success and I do not lack confidence in your ability...There is no hurry in my commission; take your time...."

Frank J. F. Bradley, Detroit, letter to Wickenden, June 26, 1883 indicated similar indulgence to the artist in fulfilling a commission. "I beg to acknowledge with pleasure your kind receipt of commission through Mr. Coyl. I have no doubt whatever that the pictures will be pleasing, both as to subject and execution! Pray take your own time in their execution and do not let it interfere with any other work you may have as Mr. Coyl tells me you are quite busy. Of course I am anxious to possess the pictures but will leave the matter as to time with you.

The pictures of yours I have I admire very much and since I have come to know you, through Mr. Coyl, as I feel I do, they have an added interest."

7. Harper, letter to Wickenden, December 9, 1884. I believe that the oil painting in question is The Albanian Guitarist, first exhibited at Williams' Art Rooms, Toledo, July 7-15, 1886. It relates to Wickenden's lithograph Song of the Adriatic, c. 1891 (Cat. 3). The painting was presented for auction at Skinner's, Bolton, Mass., September 29, 1988, Lot #89.

8. A. A. Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia, 16.

9. Ibid., 17.

10. H. Barbara Weinberg, The American Pupils of Jean-Léon Gérôme, 89, notes that "studying under Hébert, Dennis Miller Bunker [Boston artist, 1861-1890] would have had the company of only three compatriots, who also arrived in the fall of 1882". Bunker transferred after four months to Gérôme's studio, the most popular choice of American students at this time.

11. H. Barbara Weinberg, "Nineteenth-Century American Painters at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts," The American Art Journal XIII, 4 (Autumn 1981): 68. Weinberg does not include Wickenden among those who took the "concours des places" that would have admitted him as a matriculant to instruction in painting, p. 76.

12. Ibid.

13. A. A. Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia, 119, recalls that his father's studio at Auvers in the 1890s was lined with shelves full of ancient volumes in leather bindings picked up along the quais of the Seine. "Father spent hours reading them, calling me to listen to passages

that appealed particularly to him...." Also p. 92, "He would quote long passages from Hesiod's "Days", Virgil's "Bucolics"...."

14. R. J. Wickenden, "Charles Jacque 1813-1894," The Print Collector's Quarterly 2, 1 (February 1912): 83. Jacques Foucart, "The Dutch Inspiration" in John Sillevs and Hans Kraan, The Barbizon School (The Hague: Haggs Gemeentmuseum, 1985) 28 observes that, "...the portfolios of prints on the Quai du Louvre bookstalls, [were] known up to the time of the Second Empire as the "print cabinet for artists and dreamers".

15. Ibid., 83-84. Wickenden quoted Whistler at some length. "With the 'crayon gras', a soft quality of touch and tone is possible which is the special charm of lithography; the relations of the crayon and the stone can produce a certain velvety effect in passing from the tenderest lights to the deepest blacks which is the peculiar advantage of the art, but when I work with a needle-point on copper, I feel that I am able to produce something akin to a fine lace of the utmost delicacy of detail." Whistler used examples from his portfolio to illustrate his points.

16. Ibid., 21. Also "Student Life of Paris", an unidentified clipping from a Detroit newspaper, 1885, an interview with Wickenden on the subject.

17. Ibid. It was here that he met his future wife, Ada Ahier.

18. Ibid., 19.

19. Ibid. This copy was begun on March 23, 1883.

20. "Talks About Mona Lisa," The Evening News, (Danbury, Conn.) (undated clipping, c. 1913).

21. Hanna & Ives gallery later became known as Hanna & Noyes, Detroit.

22. "A Young Englishman's Successful Art Career in Detroit," Unidentified clipping from a Detroit newspaper (1884). The article also mentions The Trysting Oak (a forest genre scene), Autumn Days (an outdoor study of a French farm at harvest time), and a watercolour study of Wickenden's Paris studio. The author's emphasis on a copy of an old master over original work, which he

also praises, is a telling reflection of late nineteenth-century taste and value.

23. In June 1883, Wickenden bought a Corot for 100 francs. He offered it first to George Moore of Detroit who hesitated before deciding that he would buy. By then it was already sold to Sam Coyl, at a good profit. (A. A. Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia, 23.)

24. Wickenden spent the summer months of 1883 with Henry Kenyon, another American artist at Brolles near Barbizon. It was here that Wickenden became friendly with the Portuguese pastel artist, Souza-Pinto whose work he later sold to American buyers. He visited Jean-François Millet's house and Théodore Rousseau's studio. At the end of October he returned to Paris to take over the studio of H. H. Kitson, a fellow art student who was returning to America as "he was busted". (A. A. Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia, 23-24.)

25. James E. Scripps, founder and publisher of the Evening News, Detroit bought this canvas (25.5 x 21") from the artist in 1866. Scripps was an early and significant benefactor of the Detroit Museum of Arts (later the Detroit Institute of Arts). (Catalogue of a Private Collection of Paintings Ancient and Modern [of James E. Scripps] [Detroit: private printing, 1897] 21.)

26. A. A. Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia, 24-25.

27. Wickenden at the time was dating Ada Ahier from Longueville, Isle of Jersey while Fred Spencer was interested in her sister Alice. The two young women were, however, still in Paris perfecting their French that summer.

28. Peter Bermingham has described the depiction of domesticated animals in the landscape, particularly cattle and sheep, as one of the ubiquitous themes of American art exhibited in the Barbizon tradition. He called it an urban phenomena (found among both artists and buyers) associated with a nostalgia for the rural life of pre-industrial America. Although popular with Barbizon artists, the animal rage is described as Dutch and Flemish in origin. (American Art in the Barbizon Mood, 74-78.)

Wickenden was planning to exhibit an oil painting of cattle in the spring of 1885 in New York. His exhibition record reveals Jerseys at Home. Isle of Jersey was first shown at the Toledo Art Loan, June 22-27, 1885, #45. The asking price for the work was \$800.00.

29. Henry Kenyon, letter to Wickenden, June 3, 1884.

30. Wickenden was still receiving orders from Detroit patrons. On December 10, 1883 Wickenden received 2064 francs from Charles Stinchfield, Detroit, commissioning him to buy bric-à-brac. A letter from J.E. Watson, Detroit to Wickenden, November 28, 1884 asks him to see about putting a painting in a carved Florentine frame (not gilded) as such was not available in Detroit.

31. Henry Kenyon, Pont-Aven, letter to Wickenden, December 14, 1884.

32. The Coys had expected Wickenden to return to America in the fall of 1884, and also had anticipated having a say in choosing the daughter of a wealthy Detroit family as his bride. Although upset by Coyl's interference, Wickenden married Ada Louise Ahier April 29, 1885 at Longueville, Isle of Jersey. (A.A. Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia, 27-30.)

33. Ibid.

34. The catalogue for this exhibition held July 7-15 at Williams' Art Rooms illustrates how Wickenden, like other American artists, tried to profit from his success in the European art world. It included the following statement. "In view of Mr. Wickenden's immediate return to Europe, an excellent opportunity will be afforded to collectors and lovers of pictures to possess themselves of an example by this artist, the merit of whose work has been recognized at principal exhibitions in Paris, London and New York." The catalogue listing of previously exhibited works included a notation about European exhibitions like a sign of previous official recognition of his talent.

35. See Appendix C. Exhibition Record of Robert J. Wickenden.

36. "Contains Some Gems: The Paintings of Mr. Robert Wickenden on Exhibition," Unidentified clipping from a Detroit newspaper.

37. The Committee included J. Wells Champney, J. Carroll Beckwith, Edward Gay, E. L. Henry, A. D. Shattuck and Wm. H. Lippincott.

**CHAPTER 2. FRANCE 1886-1896: SELLING AND CREATING,
TWO ASPECTS OF THE LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY
PRINT REVIVAL**

In early 1887, Robert Wickenden returned to France with his wife and son¹ with no particular prospects, other than a continuing desire to establish himself in the art world. His situation was not uncommon for American artists of the time for the "extravagant patronage"² of American art that followed the end of the Civil War had ground to a halt after 1875. For the rest of the century, American artists generally struggled to sell their work to an unsympathetic public. Collectors preferred to invest in European art³ of all types and quality rather than in American art. Most artists were forced by circumstances both to create and to market their own work.

In the coming decade Wickenden would firmly establish links with the Barbizon tradition that in part determined the market for his art and his destiny as an artist. The choice, whether conscious or unconscious, was bound to have some success for Barbizon art was increasingly popular in America in the late 1880s.⁴ The general acceptance of the Barbizon tradition in North America about twenty years after it was common currency in European circles parallels the time lag in the diffusion of other styles (Impressionism, for example) in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Like his contemporaries, John La Farge, Kenyon Cox, and Augustus Saint-Gaudens among others, Wickenden shaped his own work in relation to the past.⁵ Fundamental to the approach was:

...A belief in the historical process itself as a basic resource for the creation and appreciation of art. Stressing the continuity of great art, this new emphasis upon tradition affected the imagery of late nineteenth-century works. The specter of past art became for artists both inspiration and burden as they sought to create works worthy of the grand procession of masterpieces which had appeared throughout human history.⁶

This emphasis on tradition often resulted in art that carried a strong "evocation of...historic types"⁷ - whether in composition, style or expression - for the present only had significance if it embodied or continued the spirit of the past. Such an approach assured the acceptance of the work of these artists at the time, but later led to its denigration as "derivative" and "unoriginal".⁸

Wickenden's identification with the Barbizon tradition did not take place overnight. He had returned to France quite broken in spirit⁹ and needed time to re-establish himself, both mentally and physically. During 1887 Wickenden exhibited only once, at the Fall Exhibition of the American Art Galleries, New York.¹⁰ Most likely, his bread and butter came from commissions on sales of other painters' work like Souza-Pinto and A. Dumont.¹¹ Probably of more help financially, was the assistance rendered to James Scripps of Detroit in art purchases of about \$7,000, mostly from Bourgeois Frères, a Paris art gallery.¹²

It was also in 1887 that Wickenden spent the summer and fall months at Auvers-sur-Oise, a small village north of Paris that had been the home of Charles-François Daubigny and his family including his son Karl, also a painter. Auvers was largely unchanged from the

1870s when Cézanne, Pissarro and Guillaumin had lived there.¹³ The region around Auvers - the vast plains and the valley of the Oise River - was as much a part of the subject matter of the artists associated with the Barbizon tradition as the area around Barbizon itself. Corot frequently visited Daubigny there, as did Théodore Rousseau and Jean-François Millet. Diaz and Jules Dupré¹⁴ had occupied studios nearby. It was at Auvers that Wickenden became friends with Paul-Adolphe Rajon, "enjoying his conversation on nature and art, looking over prints, or watching the first proofs come from some new plate".¹⁵ Wickenden also befriended the widow of Karl Daubigny¹⁶ who was anxious to sell work she was holding by Karl, his father Charles-François, and other French artists. Wickenden subsequently bought many items from her both for his own collection and for resale to American collectors and dealers. Nevertheless, for the moment, money was very scarce and sales of any kind were few.

A letter from his former teacher and friend, Carroll Beckwith pinpointed some of the problems facing artists at the time, particularly expatriates like Wickenden who were trying to gain a foothold in the North American market.

Yours of the 11th Jan. reached me this morning further explaining your relations with Wilmurt¹⁷...I went at once to Wilmurt first having made some arrangements with Wm. Schill, 47 University Place to take your work and take charge of it, sending it to exhibition sales and etc.

The facts of the case are these. Wilmurt is overloaded with pictures the men have left on

his hands with unpaid bills and he has been both neglectful and disagreeable about it. I considered the best course to pursue was to close the matter up amicably and not to have trouble with Wilmurt as he handles a great many pictures for exhibitions and yours will necessarily go through his hands. I had him adjust the surcharge of \$6.00 on your bill which I will send to your brother who has already written me, and I gave the order to Schill who is my own frame maker and will do it gladly and I trust honestly and to your satisfaction. He will take the pictures at once to his place, have them insured, send something at an early moment to the Society for promotion of art and keep watch of other exhibitions. He will also, if you so desire, send the pictures that prove unsalable to auction sales and try to realize for you...

You had better stay quietly there and see how Schill turns out as your agent. Life here is hard and very expensive and when a man has little children it is good to remain quiet. Of course you know that poetic art unless it has little taking ideas and much finish is unsaleable to our bourgeois.¹⁸

Although he did not exhibit in America in 1888, Wickenden did succeed in placing his work in several prestigious European exhibitions - the Paris Salon¹⁹, the third Exposition Internationale de Blanc et Noir²⁰ in Paris, and the Munich International Exhibition.²¹ By June²², Wickenden was obviously still in a dilemma over his career options. More advice came from Beckwith.

Believe me my dear fellow, even though the pictures do not sell very fast or the honors come rapidly, you have much to be thankful for and a happiness that is very real. I know Schill has not been able to handle your pictures very advantageously. This winter has been an

unprosperous one on Wall St. and the picture sales proportionately small - then again New York has been overcrowded with painters and pictures and a good energetic tour made by you out in Detroit or some of those larger cities would be, I think, successful. Here in America you know how busy everyone is and it really needs your personal presence and energy to do anything.

Do not, however, bring your little family back to this expensive world unless you have to. I sometimes become furious at the "train de vie" into which one is insensible dragged and sigh for the calm of the life you now lead...The rush, the commercial density, and the extravagance of my home tries me and I yearn for the art and the great possibilities for a painter in the old world. I thank you very much for the Petit Journals. If you get this in time and happen to be in Paris I wish you would send me a "catalogue officiel" (not the illustrated) of the Salon... if you can find some energetic dealer outside New York who will handle your pictures it will be a good thing....²³

Wickenden's exhibition history for 1889 indicates that he was laying foundations that would shape his career for the next several years. Leaving Auvers to spend the winter months in Paris²⁴, Wickenden again had work accepted at prestigious international exhibitions - the Paris Universal Exposition²⁵, the 1889 Chicago Exposition²⁶, the American Art Association Prize Fund Exhibition²⁷, and the Paris Salon.²⁸ Of particular interest was Wickenden's oil L'Approche du Soir shown at the latter exhibition- not only because it would become the subject of his earliest lithograph (Cat. 1) but also because it attracted very favourable critical attention. When it was included in Wickenden's November 1889 exhibition at Hanna & Ives, Detroit, a critic observed that:

Mr. Wickenden is progressing toward the magic point where ideality and reality intersect. In "L'Approche du Soir" he has found that point...."²⁹

In Toledo two months later, the painting was again the focus of attention.

One of the finest works in the collection, "L'Approche du Soir" has already enjoyed the distinction of a place in the Salon of 1889. Its tone is somber but expressive, and its simple story is told with a directness and force strongly suggestive of Millet's handling of peasant figures, while the landscape recalls the twilight tints which Daubigny painted so grandly. It would not be strange if this young artist has caught something of the inspiration of these great masters, for the subject is one after Millet's own heart, and the landscape one that Daubigny might easily have chosen.³⁰

The New York art publisher D. Appleton & Co. requested permission to reproduce the work in its forthcoming book by George Sheldon, Recent Ideals of American Art.³¹ Sheldon's text ended a lengthy summary of Wickenden's exhibition history with the following observation.

Most of Mr. Wickenden's pictures have gone directly to those who commissioned them, without being exhibited; but, feeling the need of a broader recognition, he will henceforth endeavor to frequent exhibitions with the examples of his art.³²

Wickenden followed Beckwith's advice to seek a dealer outside New York, for a July letter from Hanna & Ives, Detroit acknowledged receiving a shipment of pictures.³³ Plans were also afoot for Wickenden to make a trip to the United States with the intention of

realizing sales of both his own work and that of other artists. His Paris studio-mate, Ulpiano Checa wrote from his summer location:

Je suis très heureux de savoir que vous commencer vous arranger financièrement pour faire votre voyage en octobre j'espère aussi que vous fera quelques efforts pour emporter une bonne collection de petits tableaux en Amerique ça que vous reportera beaucoup.³⁴

The efforts to raise finances included an offer from Sheridan Ford, the English art critic, to market an article on Daubigny written by Wickenden³⁵, as well as an attempt with Ford to sell a work by Diaz³⁶ and also to realize on other sales.³⁷ Wickenden also borrowed money from some of his patrons, such as James E. Scripps of Detroit.³⁸ Just prior to sailing for New York in October, Wickenden bought a number of works from the widow of Karl Daubigny at Auvers-sur-Oise promising full payment by February 1, 1890.³⁹

Wickenden's arrival in New York in the fall of 1889 was followed by a November exhibition at Hanna & Ives Galleries in Detroit, a December exhibition at the Hotel Ryan in St. Paul, Minnesota, and a January exhibition at McKechnie & Oswald's Art Galleries in Toledo, Ohio. Beckwith's pessimism was perhaps disproved for the sales allowed Wickenden to clear several thousand dollars.⁴⁰

It was during this trip that Wickenden made the first sales of prints for which specific documentation has survived. In November 1889, Charles Lang Freer (Vice-President and Treasurer of the Peninsular Car Co. of Detroit)⁴¹ and Wickenden spent an evening together. Freer purchased five of the Daubigny etchings that

Wickenden had brought from France. Since they came from Daubigny's own collection⁴², they were presumably part of the lot of 52 "eaux-fortes" that Wickenden had just purchased in September 1889 from Mme Karl Daubigny at a price of about three francs or 60 cents apiece for the etchings.⁴³ Wickenden resold the prints for \$8.00 each. Freer's collection ultimately included eight Daubigny etchings bought from Wickenden: Autumn, Les Chasseurs, Early Morning, Landscape, Pommiers Auvers, The Sheepfold, Landscape - Evening - with hares in the foreground, Sunset - Labaruvier, and a steel engraving entitled Marquise de Maintenon.⁴⁴

The contact between Freer and Wickenden was not a singular event, but rather continued for a number of years. A note for June 21, 1890 in Wickenden's Account and Memoranda Book says "write to Freer".⁴⁵ A July reply from Freer thanked Wickenden for his "kind remembrance" and the "charming etchings." He added: "That your addition to my little collection of prints may have the recognition they deserve I shall name one of my portfolios 'Wickenden'".⁴⁶ Wickenden's reply the following month (August 1890) from Auvers-sur-Oise where he was renting the studio once occupied by Charles-François Daubigny⁴⁷, indicated plans for another fall trip to the United States.⁴⁸

Your kind letter of July 3rd was duly received and brought with it an atmosphere of life and encouragement. I feel pulsing through it the very activity of your life, especially on its business side, and this latter undoubtedly adds zest to the pleasure you get from art, which is so much more the production of meditation and comparative repose. I am glad

you liked the little Rembrandt proof, and feel flattered at your naming a portfolio after me. I shall try to add a few worthy specimens to it as time goes on, and when I see anything which would seem especially to your taste I shall not let the opportunity pass...This year too is a busy one for me, as while I am more or less on the move, I wish to keep at it till I can see some years assured me in which to carry out a long cherished plan in the production of certain pictures and which requires a certain capital so that I expect to return to America next month to complete several matters left open at my return here and to hold an exhibition in Chicago. In going West I hope to have a few days stop over at Detroit early in October and trust you may be for the moment at home...I will drop you a line on arriving in New York, and hope for a few hours chat together with a peep at your etchings....⁴⁹

The last preserved letter between Freer and Wickenden indicated that the two men were not able to meet that fall as often as they wished.

I hope that I may reach Philadelphia so as to have a chance to see you. It is unfortunate that I had no opportunity of calling upon you again after seeing you at the Russell House [the hotel where Wickenden stayed in Detroit] that Sunday.

Enclosed herewith please find draft for \$17.50 in payment for the two etchings by Seiguer.⁵⁰ After you have shown them to Mr. Keppel, please send them to me, addressed "77 Alfred Street, Detroit, Michigan.

I hope your exhibition in Philadelphia will be very successful and that I shall soon have the pleasure of seeing you.⁵¹

Freer must have continued to follow Wickenden's career for at least three or four more years as his collection included the artist's lithographs La Mère Panneçaye and Portrait of Frederick Keppel, both of 1893.⁵² As a collector, Freer liked to establish a personal friendship with the artists represented in his collection. His friendship with Wickenden coincided with the beginnings of his friendship with four other American artists - James McNeil Whistler, Abbott Handerson Thayer, Thomas Wilmer Dewing and Dwight William Tryon.⁵³ When Freer donated his American and Oriental art collection to the Smithsonian, the terms of his gift forbade any additions or deletions to the American part of his collection after his death (September 25, 1919). Despite the stipulation, in March 1920 (after Freer's death but before the Gallery opening in 1923) the Wickenden lithographs as well as the etchings by Daubigny and Seiguer were given to the Detroit Public Schools.⁵⁴ The balance of Freer's European etchings, mostly from artists of the Barbizon School, was also dispersed.⁵⁵ Therefore, claims about the singular focus of Freer's taste as reflected in the Freer Gallery of Art collection, have to be approached with considerable caution.⁵⁶ Despite the predominance of Oriental art and of Whistler's work, Freer's collecting habits were obviously diverse.

As a dealer, Wickenden did not let the business enmity between Freer and the newspaper publisher James E. Scripps⁵⁷ get in the way of his relations with both men. Scripps was a major benefactor of the Detroit Institute of Art in its founding years⁵⁸, donating both money and a substantial collection of paintings in

1889, and again in 1909 through his widow⁵⁹. During Wickenden's 1889 trip to America (when he first sold prints to Freer), he also sold a few etchings to Scripps and a more substantial number to Mrs. Ellen Stevens.⁶⁰ These sales, however, were not sufficient to sustain Wickenden's activities as a dealer for regardless of the mark-up, prints sold for a relatively small sum of money compared to paintings. In addition, both patrons were very selective and sporadic purchasers thus limiting the volume of sales as the following letters from Scripps demonstrate.

I sympathize fully with your pursuits - as well the purchase of good pictures for America as the development of your own art, and I thank you for your offer to buy for me. I have seen the time when I should have jumped at the chance to secure the Rembrandt you speak of but just now I really do not see my way to affording it. I have met some bad losses lately investing in businesses I did not understand in order to assist friends and I fear I am in 'a hole' as the boys say for \$30,000 or \$40,000 all told. Of course I can stand it but for the time being I must be very cautious. Besides this I have undertaken to build a costly church at my expense and on top of all failing to get anyone else to offer \$1,000 for foreign scholarship as a first prize in the art school I have been forced to offer it myself. So I must not think of picture buying for some time to come.⁶¹

Send an invitation to your exhibition to my friend E.B. Warren Esq., 2013 Spruce Street, Philadelphia. He is a connoisseur and you will be pleased to know him.

Now I think there was nothing that you had that I very much covet unless it were the windmills of Rousseau and this is out of the question as I am for the time buying nothing. Too many irons in the fire and too many debts to take care of.⁶²

As a dealer, Wickenden did not by any means concentrate exclusively on prints. A handwritten inventory of his collection of paintings and drawings, dated Paris 1921, indicates that he had 50 paintings, 74 drawings and 16 watercolours representing 119 different artists. Most were works by nineteenth-century European artists, particularly the group known as the "Men of 1830" or the Barbizon School, and only a few were by Wickenden's contemporaries.⁶³ From 1890 to 1892, Wickenden made fairly regular sales of European paintings to Hanna & Noyes in Detroit and to James G. Moulton and Co., both in Chicago and St. Paul. Moulton's letters reveal a buyer always anxious to pay the least possible amount of money for the finest, and sometimes largest, possible painting. Moulton ordered work by Ulpiano Checa, also a "fine" Rousseau, work by Charles Sprague Pearce, and also wondered if Wickenden had "seen Mr. Millet yet and what is the best you can do with him. I would like one of his pictures for fall Exhibition if I could get a good one cheap..."⁶⁴

Hanna & Noyes in Detroit also relied both on Wickenden's judgement and his access to sources in the Paris marketplace to obtain art for its galleries in Detroit.

We have heard through Mr. Coyl of a Corot painting that may be bought from Madame Daubigny. Will you write us a description of it,

the size and all other points of interest and at what price it can be purchased by you. We feel very confident that a good sale may be made and that we (Hanna & Noyes & Wickenden) may secure some of the "wherewithal" through this and any other important picture that you may be able to pick up. We are pleased to say that we have sold the Karl Daubigny...."⁶⁵

This purchase was followed several months later by payment for a Diaz and a Corot⁶⁶, a subsequent order for a Rousseau⁶⁷, and then five more pictures.⁶⁸ The orders, however, did not always bring the immediate payment that an artist who was supplementing his income would obviously need, for dealers struggling in the American marketplace could be just as short of cash as the artists.

We cable you today in regard to 5 pictures which you have been holding for us so long. We have not yet sold the Rousseau so have been a little short of funds. If you do not absolutely need the \$500.00 for these five pictures before starting for America let it rest till then when we will have it for you. Should you want it very much when you get this, cable 'yes' and we will send it the same way. We are trying hard to place the Rousseau but find it uphill work this time of year. We hope to see you here before long with some good things and think you may do well with them. Photos of cats and chickens⁶⁹ received but don't see our way at present to make an offer on them owing to the fact that we have now something like \$3,000.00 in paintings which with our capital is about all we can have with comfort unless it is some special bargain as we think this lot is that we have sent for. We hope to turn them over quickly as they are small pictures and good names.⁷⁰

Wickenden's correspondence indicates that he continued to sell European pictures to Hanna & Noyes through until 1893.⁷¹ As most of the correspondence in his papers are incoming letters, the following excerpt from one of Wickenden's own letters gives some insight into his sales methods.

By the way, I have a magnificent Courbet spoken for, a view in Switzerland made and signed in '73 during his exile and two years or so before his death. In size it is about 3 1/2 x 5 feet fully that, and represents, distant mountain peaks, seen between a vista of heavy pine forests with immense rocks and a waterfall in the foreground. The technique is done with the palette knife principally, and the colour deep and strong like those Mr. Hanna saw at the Louvre. If Mrs. Chandler wants something fine by him this is an exceptional Chance. It is framed in a carved wood frame, and all it would need for mounting would be a large shadow box if you thought best. I can make you the picture at 2,000 dollars cash clear of all charges in the hands of the Express Co. at Paris. If you can make a combination between this and the Diaz, so as to even the matter up, well and good. They would be as representative and important works as it is possible to find anywhere and both of them as strong as the giants that painted them. The Courbet comes direct from Besançon near Courbet's native place and was last in the hands of a prominent Paris financier, lately embarrassed in his affairs. It is an opportunity that cannot be repeated.⁷¹

The quantity of Wickenden's transactions in paintings and watercolours at the same time as he was selling original artists'

prints raises a number of interesting issues concerning the late nineteenth-century print revival in both Europe and North America. In the introduction, it was suggested that the revival encompassed a new interest in prints among artists as well as dealers and buyers of varying taste. The nineteenth-century was punctuated by renaissances in the various print media. Lithography in the early decades culminated with the Romantic movement in the 1830s. Landscape etching begun around Barbizon by Jacque, Rousseau, Dupré, Millet and Corot was further developed in the 1860s and was in "full swing"⁷² by the 1870s. From there, major artists branched out to again include lithography, both in black and white and by the 1890s in colour, within their repertoire of media.

This lithographic renaissance of the 1890s was given tremendous impetus by a retrospective exhibition held in 1891 at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. Paris was astonished by the achievements of the forgotten "men of 1830". Describing the exhibition, Joseph Pennell wrote: "On the walls, the history of the art unrolled in amazement at the seas of Isabey, the architecture of Bonington, the irresistably romantic Faust of Delacroix, the portraits of Devéria, the satires of Gavarni, the dramas of Daumier."⁷³

There is a common thread among all these revivals that has not been particularly stressed to date. The revivals were not led by or centered on the production of craftsmen in commercial printing houses whose sole production was prints. Nor were the revivals led by artists who used prints as their sole means of original artistic expression. The revivals always came from the hands of artists who

were also painters.⁷⁴ In other words, their artistic production encompassed a wide range of media. Delacroix, Géricault, Dupré, Isabey, Jacque, Daubigny, Rousseau, Corot, Fantin-Latour, Whistler, Bracquemond, Legros, Manet, Buhot, Bonnard, and Vuillard - to name only a few of the principals of nineteenth-century printmaking - were all painters as well as printmakers. Notwithstanding the artists' technical skills and the artistic heights achieved in the prints, printmaking was by and large not the central focus of their careers.⁷⁵ Similarly prints were never a central focus of the international art market despite their increased presence in art journals and in art transactions.⁷⁶

As a collector and dealer, Wickenden certainly echoed the multiple focus of the nineteenth century on paintings and prints. As an artist, Robert Wickenden followed the same pattern - creating and exhibiting painting and prints simultaneously, and frequently using the same subject in both media. Perhaps spurred on by the artistic community's renewed interest in lithography coming into the last decade of the century and/or by the specific excitement generated by the 1891 print exhibition at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Wickenden first exhibited lithographs at the end of 1891 in Chicago.⁷⁷ As previously mentioned, he seems to have learned printmaking largely through his own efforts and contact with other artists, like Whistler and Rajon.⁷⁸ A resource that he did not tap was Dr. Gachet who lived in Auvers at the same time as Wickenden. Gachet's well-recorded passion for the graphic arts included the possession of a press in his house that he made available to Cézanne, Pissarro, Guillaumin, and Van Gogh among other artists.⁷⁹

Wickenden's teacher and friend Carroll Beckwith agreed in a somewhat ambivalent fashion with his decision to test the Chicago art market in late 1891.⁸⁰ He wrote:

I was beginning to wonder in what part of this vast country you had pitched your tent. I am satisfied you have taken an intelligent step in Chicago as a choice, only, your art is far away from them but they are an intelligent [illegible] out there, much as I dislike the place. Can you bring a few choice minds up to your level...Why do you not write a little for the papers there. Kenyon Cox, Coffin and a number of fellows have done it here with dignity and success. To support one's self and family solely from the sale of pictures is well nigh impossible here in America. Without my teaching at the [Art Students'] League I should have gone hungry to bed many a time.⁸¹

The catalogue of Robert Wickenden's November 1891 exhibition in Chicago listed 28 oil paintings, 13 watercolours and 4 lithographs - an order that perhaps reflects his acceptance of the hierarchy of the different media in the art world at large. The four "original" lithographs, all by Wickenden after his own paintings⁸², were: L'Approche du Soir (Cat.1) after his Salon piece of 1889, The Spinner (Cat. 4) after his Salon entry of 1888, An Evening Pastoral (Cat. 2, also known as A Twilight Pastoral), and A Song of the Adriatic (Cat. 3). The catalogue indicated that only a limited (but unspecified) number of proofs had been printed, and that these were available from the artist himself or through the important New York print dealer Frederick Keppel and Co.

In The Spinner (Cat. 4), a seated female figure works at a spinning wheel beside a large hearth. Her solid figure is bathed in an even light accentuated by the dark chiaroscuro of the corner of the room. The grainy effect of the lithographic crayon contributes to the soft texture of the depicted surfaces. The print's subject matter, composition, and figure- drawing style are strongly reminiscent of Millet's series of prints of women engaged in daily household activities, such as Feeding the Child, Woman Churning, The Woman Carding Wool, and Woman Sewing.

A Song of the Adriatic (Cat. 3) also depicts a seated female, only this time the setting, beside the sea, receives only the most summary treatment. Detailed rendering here, rather, is reserved for the woman's costume and her guitar as it is these details that bring forward the appeal of the exotic or "foreign". The careful rendering of tonal shading within the dress is reminiscent of academic figure studies.

The third print, An Evening Pastoral (Cat. 2) also falls into the genre category. A young boy absorbed with his flute leans on a tree branch. A dog lying beside him watches the sheep in the background. The vigorous shading of the brush contrasts with the linear treatment of the grasses in the foreground. Both serve as a dark foil to the sheep themselves. As in The Spinner, Wickenden makes use of the natural soft qualities of the lithographic crayon on the paper to render atmosphere and light. Both the subject matter and the stress on a time of day which softens the outlines of objects in the landscape again evoke the work of the Barbizon artists,

especially Jacque and Daubigny, with overtones of influence from the Symbolists.

L'Approche du Soir (Cat.1)⁸³, in the tradition of Millet's subject matter, depicts an elderly peasant woman seated on the ground at the foot of a wayside cross⁸⁴, resting her hands on a walking stick. Behind her the sun is setting on the fields of grain. To her right, the dark foliage of bushes and treetops provides a visual contrast to the open treatment of the landscape on the left. The artist uses the combination of a genre scene and the time of day - sunset - to create a poetic mood and an atmosphere of reflection. Many proofs of this lithograph have the following poem composed and handwritten by the artist in the lower margin.

The grain that is ready to fall
 The day that is ready to die
 The valley that soon must be passed
 And the cross, ever lifted on high.

Let me patiently wait by the cross
 The end of my journey is near
 Though night with its darkness surround
 God is nigh...no evil I fear.

Wickenden's attempt to combine the literary with the visual recurred quite frequently in this period. Many of the paintings listed in his exhibition catalogues bear titles or tag-lines referring to literary sources, usually romantics like Longfellow, Shelley, Victor Hugo, Oliver Goldsmith, or Robert Burns.⁸⁵ His striving after the poetic and the sentimental met with mediocre results in the Chicago art market⁸⁶, although elsewhere it was well-received and indeed

encouraged. The American author of Some Masters of Lithography⁸⁷, Atherton Curtis, resident in Paris in the 1890s wrote:

Your lithograph [L'Approche du Soir] I think charming - full of sentiment and feeling and all together delightful.

One thing however it lacks, and the want of this one thing is a fatal mistake. None of your delightful verses accompany it, which is surely an error.

You see I am extremely selfish, and would keep you writing verses on all your prints. Really you should publish your poems but then why should I give you advice unasked for merely for my own gratification.⁸⁸

It was at this time in Chicago that Wickenden published a small booklet entitled On the Real and Ideal in Art.⁸⁹ In it, he attempts to establish a general standard of criticism for the public to use in judging and appreciating the value of art in what he terms "these days of rampant realism".⁹⁰ He assumes that Art has "great laws" that underlie a fixed "standard of true art".⁹¹ Although he allows for different styles, he is against simple realism or "the mere imitation of an object"⁹², and suggests that the artist's idea or motive is more important than technique or surface qualities.⁹³

Wickenden's frustration with the reception of his work in Chicago is patently clear in notes for a speech entitled "Art Lovers of Chicago".⁹⁴ He deplores the materialism of a city that spends thousands on "ostentatious fashion for exceptional and sometimes doubtful works in far away cities and lands", but often neglects "to

spend a dollar towards encouraging a more certain and honest growth within [its] own borders". He asks if the city's love of art is "merely a means for displaying riches, or something from a deeper source which seeks and develops the truly beautiful, wherever and whenever found." He continues:

Many names could I give you of men⁹⁵ in the first rank of American artists, now the glory of New York and other art centres, who coming to you with the best they possessed of skill and genius were driven away by your brutal indifference.

Wickenden's frustration ends with a final appeal to the "bottom line". He asks his audience to support the artists at hand, not those in distant lands.

Do you know that art with proper selection is a most profitable investment, that if you possess true taste and discernment that you can make your very pleasures a source of pecuniary advantage. Do you suppose the popes, or kings, dukes and town-councillors paid the artists who worked in Italy what their works now represent in money value, to say nothing of the delight these works have given to succeeding generations.⁹⁶

It seems that Wickenden had chosen Chicago with the intention of securing some ambitious projects for the Columbian Exhibition in 1893.⁹⁷ Despite the signalling of his arrival in Chicago as a "healthy sign"⁹⁸ for art in the city, in the end these hopes were never realized. Nor did he meet with sufficient sales of his own work, whether paintings, watercolours or prints, to hold out much promise for his future in the city. Consequently, when the opportunity to purchase

"Les Vallées" in Auvers from its owner Louis Delepinée arose in early April 1892, Robert and Ada Wickenden jumped at the opportunity. Within two weeks the family sailed for France from New York⁹⁹, and within the month they were again settled in Auvers-sur-Oise.

Wickenden evidently returned to France with the intention of continuing to pursue the lithographic medium, for in that year (1892) he joined the Société des artistes lithographes français. The Society¹⁰⁰ was one of a number of print groups¹⁰¹ formed in the last half of the nineteenth century to bring prints to the attention of dealers and collectors and, to a certain extent, to inspire confidence in the artists themselves that printmaking was a viable means of original artistic expression rather than the exclusive domain of reproductive craftsmen. Its membership embraced artists (Fantin-Latour and Odilon Redon, for example), reproductive lithographers, publishers, printers and critics alike. Its activities included the publication of original prints, efforts to expand the number of prints shown at official exhibitions, and the organization of special exhibitions devoted to lithography.¹⁰² Wickenden continued his membership in the Société. In Wickenden's files for the following year, a letter from Fauchon concerning the Société's executive stated, "Je vous souhaite bon courage, faites nous beaucoup de lithographies, un peu plus grandes et vous serez un de nos bons collègues".¹⁰³

Although he did not exhibit in Europe during 1892, Wickenden was not idle. He renewed his acquaintance with Ulpiano Checa¹⁰⁴ and it was at this time perhaps, that he taught Checa the art of lithography. A Checa lithograph, entitled Les Deux Ages (Figure 1)¹⁰⁵, signed but not dated, bears the inscription:

Cher ami Wickenden, C'est de votre faute si j'ai fait ce preuve/dessin lithographique, et ce sera grace à vous si dans ce genre j'arrive à faire quelque chose de potable.

Checa's affection and appreciation for Wickenden's friendship is also evident in the inscription on another of his works¹⁰⁶, a black and white ink drawing of a couple with their backs to the viewer walking down a lane flanked by trees and fields. "Et nous avançons tous les deux sous le dôme de la grande allée...à mon ami Wickenden. U. Checa."

Although it is impossible to determine exactly whether or not Wickenden was working on lithographs immediately following his return to France, he was busy painting, primarily oil landscape studies executed en plein air around Auvers.¹⁰⁷ Receipts from June to August indicate that he was again actively buying paintings from P. Bourdeil and also a Mme. Waquier including works by Delacroix, Rosa, Gavarni, Raffet, Villette, Zucarelli, Diaz, Corot and Rousseau.¹⁰⁸

In September, Wickenden sailed again to America.¹⁰⁹ He advised friends and acquaintances of his return by sending them copies of On the Real and Ideal in Art. Bills from December 1892 and February 1893 show that Wickenden paid The Rose Company, 335 Fourth Avenue, New York nearly \$2,000.00 to frame (and in some cases mat) a hundred works of art. Several letters from dealers like A. Vuillier and P. Bourdeil, Paris dealers¹¹⁰ indicate that Wickenden was seeking more information on the provenance of certain paintings in his collection. On February 21, 1893 at the American Art Galleries on Madison Square, New York, 116 nineteenth-century European

works - 63 paintings and 53 watercolours and drawings - from the collection of Robert Wickenden were auctioned to the public.¹¹¹ The annotated catalogue included a preface from the artist.

Pictures to a painter are as books to a writer. In them is felt the impress of graphic thoughts, and they become both guides and companions in following after that ideal which is the beginning and end of an artist's life.

I have always been strongly attracted towards the masters of the school of 1830, and believe them to be luminaries as fixed in the sky of art as the masters of the Italian Renaissance or of the Spanish or Flemish schools.

My taste has followed this belief, and for study and recreation I gathered round me the present collection....

The catalogue included comments by Wickenden on subject matter, style, dating, provenance and signature on each piece - an indication of his wide-ranging knowledge of the period. The well-attended sale attracted such buyers as C. I. Hudson, C. H. Tweed, Robert Blackburn, Mr. Maxwell, Uriah Allen, O. G. Hillard, George A. Hearne, and Dr. A. A. Healy of Baltimore¹¹², and apparently brought in between \$15,000 to \$20,000. In addition to the profit for the artist, the exhibition helped to raise his profile in the New York art community not just as an artist but as a connoisseur.¹¹³ Only one reporter seemed to sense that the works Wickenden had been able to amass were often lesser works by well-known artists. The article noted that the collection:

...Looks as if it had been gathered by someone who had the run of studios or was a watchful attendant on the auction sales that succeed the breaking up of studios on the death of French artists. It has rather a scrappy character and some at least of the canvases are nothing more than studies and sketches.¹¹⁴

With his new-found financial security, Wickenden was able to sail back to Europe¹¹⁵ to refocus on his own production. Initially, he exhibited three of the lithographs previously shown in Chicago at the 1893 Paris Salon: The Spinner, L'Approche du Soir, and A Twilight Pastoral. Lithography received a good portion of his attention as he produced nine new works that year.

In the summer months Wickenden produced La Mère Panneçaye (Cat. 5), a lithograph that can be considered his "signature piece". He exhibited it more than any of his other prints and it never failed to draw anything but favourable criticism for the rest of his career. It is a sensitive head-and-shoulders rendering of an elderly peasant woman who had been employed by Rajon, and at times by the Wickendens to save her from destitution after she was rejected by her son and daughter-in-law. Wickenden employed Mme. Panneçaye as a model for at least fourteen different works. Soft shading in the facial area and a sensitive use of broken line convey the quiet resolute character of the woman.

La Mère Panneçaye emphasizes the critical role of drawing in lithography due to the artist's total focus on the rendering of the head and shoulders and the lack of background setting. Apart from light shading behind the shoulders, particularly along the left

shoulder and neck area, the background has been left untouched. In this respect, the lithograph becomes a means of producing multiple drawings. This aspect of printmaking was promoted by Roger Marx in reference to prints in general¹¹⁶ and by Léonce Bénédict, Curator at the Musée du Luxembourg, in his frequent writings promoting the revival of original lithography.¹¹⁷ His philosophy was to disassociate lithography from print techniques and to ally lithography with drawing.

La lithographie, quoi qu'en disent les lithographes, n'est donc point un procédé à part, une branche spéciale de la gravure. On peut dire qu'elle est, en vérité, une manifestation pure et simple de l'art du dessin, à laquelle se trouve attachée, par une bonne fortune exceptionnelle, la faculté de pouvoir se reproduire directement sans intermédiaire plus ou moins fidèle.¹¹⁸

Frederick Keppel who had been in Auvers with his family for the months of June and July¹¹⁹ was obviously pleased with Wickenden's results. He reported from Paris: "I have delivered the 'precious stone' to Monsieur Duchâtel¹²⁰ and he bids me to say that he will be quite ready for you on Saturday morning at half past ten."¹²¹ Duchâtel was particularly interested in transfer lithography, of which La Mère Pannecaye is an example (as are most lithographs by Wickenden). At the time, "the transfer process had been little practised and was not well known"¹²² as traditionally artists had worked directly on the stone. In this new process, the artist drew on transfer paper which was then transferred to the lithographic stone. The stone was sometimes reworked at this stage or directly inked

and printed. Consequently, there was no reversal of the image during the process. Ten days later as he was preparing to leave Europe, Keppel purchased forty copies of La Mère Panneçaye¹²³ to sell from his New York gallery .

During Keppel's visit Wickenden had executed two portraits of the dealer holding a portfolio of prints - one version in oil and the other, a lithograph (Cat. 6). Keppel's appreciation was most generous.

I have this moment received the package of my portrait in lithograph: 'all hands' including myself are delighted with it - and well we may be. I see that not only your work, the stone and the tirage are a full and free gift to me but the carriage of the package also.

Forgive me if I drop into an old story à propos of this portrait:

When Seymour Haden was in America he had himself photographed several times. Of one of these, done by Gutchman of Philadelphia, he afterwards ordered through me dozens for his English friends, and in ordering it he always designated it as 'The Benevolent Portrait'. - Now I think I shall call my lithograph the Benevolent Portrait for I think it shows me at my best and in my most benevolent aspect.

When I think of it and of the fine painting I cannot express what I feel. I could have thanked you far more glibly had I felt less grateful.¹²⁴

Keppel's pleasure at the portrait and confirmation of Wickenden as one of his gallery's artists were reiterated in a letter the following month.

Your letter of August 24th was forwarded to me at Chicago and today the case containing my portrait and the two watercolors for Mrs. S. B. Coyl were received from the Customs House...'When the pie was opened, the Birds began to sing.'

The birds in this case being the clerks at the store. They greeted my portrait with hearty applause - which I now pass on to you with my own very hearty applause added. The portrait looks better than ever, and I am very proud to possess it.

I did take the lithographs with me, I mean my own portrait. I left some of them in Paris, however, and it just occurs to me that you have had none of the finished state for yourself. That would certainly be using you badly. So please let me know and I shall send you as many as you want.

I am sending you by this mail the first album of 'Les Peintres-Lithographes' of which you have the second.

When you come to New York be sure and make our house your stopping place...

The Editor of Scribner's Magazine has accepted my article on Sir Joshua Reynolds...It is to appear in the January number. If ever you come to read it, and find mention therein of the opinion of a 'distinguished American artist', you are to know that the gentleman so designated is yourself.¹²⁵

Wickenden's production for 1893 also included portraits of some of the inhabitants of Auvers - Le Père Jorelle (Cat.12) and members of the Daubigny family, Mme Karl Daubigny (Cat. 7), her brother-in-law Bernard Daubigny (Cat. 8), and her mother, Mme. B/

Mme. Bégon (Cat. 9). All demonstrate his skill in portraiture - the delicate use of line and shadow to achieve a likeness that also conveys the individuality of the person portrayed. Wickenden was not just a neighbour but also a friend of the Daubigny family. He visited regularly and the Wickenden children were almost daily visitors to Mme. Daubigny. As his eldest son Alfred wrote:

She [Mme. Karl Daubigny] practically gave him the run of the place. On subsequent visits I often accompanied him in his rummaging of dark corners, including a storage shed, where the most extraordinary heap of paintings, old canvas, stretchers and masses of junk were piled.¹²⁶

In portraying the Daubigny trio, Wickenden was of course, merely finding people close at hand to use as his models. By repeatedly exhibiting these portraits, however, Wickenden's neighbourly "entrée" with the Daubigny family developed into an inextricable link between himself and Charles-François Daubigny - a link that became part of the aura of the artist, to be mentioned as part of his artistic credentials for the rest of his career.¹²⁷

Wickenden also experimented with landscape and genre scenes in lithography during 1893 bringing to completion La Rentrée du Troupeau/The Return of the Flock (Cat. 10), and The Rise of the Harvest Moon (Cat. 11). The latter again brings to mind work of the Barbizon artists, such as Daubigny's painting Building the Stack (Montreal Museum of Fine Arts). In the lithograph's middle ground are large stacks of hay in a field. At the horizon, backlit by the rising moon, is the solid tower of the church at Auvers. The dark and

somber tone of the proof contributes to a blurring of object and ground, thus creating a mysterious and ghostly atmosphere.

Wickenden's friend Atherton Curtis was quite taken with this print as he wrote, "So completely have you avoided all those difficulties that there is no fault to find with your lithograph in any way...you have made a masterpiece of it."¹²⁸

Wickenden's genre scene The Return of the Flock (Cat. 10) depicts a farmer leading a flock of sheep across a field dotted with conical haystacks towards the tower of the church at Auvers. The time is early evening. The profile of a dog herding the sheep dominates the foreground. For the viewer, details of the composition emerge slowly as the scene is executed in overall dark tones. A scraper has been used to highlight the play of light on the backs of the sheep and on blades of grass in the foreground. The subject matter is again in the tradition of Daubigny who depicted the theme in an 1862 cliché-verre of the same title (Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Paris), although the style and composition of the two artists are very different.

Wickenden received official recognition from the Parisian art establishment for La Rentrée du Troupeau when it was included in the third album of Les Peintres-lithographes published by the journal, L'Artiste.¹²⁹ Besides Wickenden, the other artists included in the album were Félix Bracquemond, Félix Buhot, Ulpiano Checa, E. Dinet, Norbert Goeneutte, Camille Lefèvre, Paul Leroy, Alexandre Lunois and Achille Siroux. Each album in the series consisted of ten original prints by ten different artists, chosen to represent a diversity of subject matter and style. This format was an intentional

tactic adopted by the three editors - Léonce Bénédite, conservateur at the Musée du Luxembourg, Henri-Patrice Dillon, artiste-peintre et lithographe, and Jean Alboize, directeur of L'Artiste - to demonstrate the wide possibilities of the lithographic medium. Eighty copies of each album of ten lithographs were printed on China paper. In addition twenty deluxe editions of the album were produced consisting of the same lithographs numbered and signed by the artists, now with "remarques" and printed on special paper.

At the Paris Salon of 1894, Wickenden was represented by six of his 1893 lithographs¹³⁰ - La Mère Panneçaye, Portrait of Madame B., Portrait of Bernard Daubigny, Portrait of Madame Karl Daubigny, The Return of the Flock, and The Rise of the Harvest Moon - the largest number of works he would ever show at this exhibition. In addition to winning an Honourable Mention for the last two lithographs, Wickenden also attracted the attention of the French critics.¹³¹

La Revue des Beaux-Arts reported:

Parmi les deux cadres de M. Wickenden, nous signalerons le puissant effet obtenu dans les deux planches "La rentrée du troupeau" et la "Lune de la moisson". La première a une grandeur extraordinaire. Dans le lot des lithographies originales, c'est une de celles qui donnent l'impression d'une note d'art élevé. Il n'y a rien dans l'oeuvre de Millet qui soit d'une poésie pastorale plus intense.¹³²

The following issue was equally complementary.

Ses portraits sont grassement dessinés et dénotent une observation sincère des modèles. La rentrée du troupeau et Lune de

la moisson sont d'excellentes lithographies, d'une facture bien déliée et d'un sens artistique très prononcé.¹³³

This bimonthly publication was an important place for Wickenden to receive favourable notice. From 1889, its director was Henry Hamel who was also an artist and lithographer. His appointment to La Revue des Beaux-Arts marked a "turning point" in the fortunes of the Société des artistes lithographes whose efforts for the previous five years to promote lithography had not pushed it to a position of prominence in the art world.¹³⁴ Hamel worked so tirelessly to promote lithography as an original art form rather than a strictly reproductive medium, and to promote the painter over the professional lithographer, that La Revue des Beaux-Arts became in effect the official organ of the lithography revival.¹³⁵

Wickenden exhibited more widely in Europe during 1894 than ever before. In addition to the Paris Salon, he showed La Mère Panneçaye and The Harvest Moon at Antwerp, and La Mère Panneçaye again at Lyon. Paintings were exhibited at an Exposition de Beaux-Arts at the Château de Saint-Germain-en-Laye.¹³⁶ Nevertheless, he did not neglect the American market for he sent one painting to the Art Gallery Exposition in Pittsburgh¹³⁷, one to the Saint Louis Exposition¹³⁸, and one to the Cotton States Exposition in Atlanta, Georgia.¹³⁹

In early October 1894, Wickenden again sailed to America.¹⁴⁰ By the end of the month, a slim volume of his poems Poems of Nature and Sentiment, was published by Frederick Keppel Gallery, New York. He sent copies to friends and patrons to announce his return to America and to stimulate interest in his exhibition at the

Frederick Keppel Gallery.¹⁴¹ This exhibition, Wickenden's first in the art capital of the United States, was wide-ranging in subject matter and media. It included oils, watercolours, drawings, lithographs and one etching. The subject matter ranged from portraits to genre scenes and pure landscapes.

In keeping with its customary exhibition practise, Keppel Galleries produced a catalogue with a brief essay introducing the artist and his work. The annotated listing of works highlighted Wickenden's Salon entries, awards, and previous exhibitions.. His residence at Auvers-sur-Oise was linked with the tradition of Corot and Charles-François Daubigny. The preface stated that:

Mr. Wickenden's work, though already well known to some people in the United States and England, and to a much greater number in France, may yet be presented as a novelty to the art-loving public of New York. He belongs to that fortunate class of artists most of whose pictures are either ordered in advance or else are sold very soon after their completion.¹⁴²

It identified Wickenden as a "chercheur" defining the term as "ever seeking, ever studying and investigating", thus explaining the marked diversity of his production and involvement in related activities, such as art writing. The artist was characterized as "well versed in the learning of the schools" but also as one who cares "much less for traditions than for what he learns direct from nature".

The preface stressed the intellectual character of the artist and sought to elevate him above the level of a craftsman concerned solely with technique. Citing the diversified interests of artists like

Michelangelo and Leonardo da Vinci as models, Keppel claimed that Wickenden met the ideal criteria of the time.

The artist of to-day should be a broad-minded and many-sided man, avoiding the slavery of the narrow conventions of cliques and schools, but having his mind open to the beautiful and sublime wherever it may be found.

Nevertheless, Keppel noted Wickenden's particular admiration for the work of Millet, expressed by a "like poetic sentiment" rather than imitation. In closing Keppel observed that in addition to his "imaginative" work, Wickenden "turns easily and frequently" to portraiture and called the public's attention to the two portraits of Philip Gilbert Hamerton, an oil and a lithograph (Cat.16).

Wickenden's portrait of Hamerton was unwittingly timely for the subject died coincidentally with the exhibition, thus arousing particular interest in his portrait. Apparently, the lithograph "sold like hot cakes" in New York.¹⁴³ The two men had met in April 1894 in the studio of Ulpiano Checa.¹⁴⁴ Wickenden, perhaps inspired by his familiarity with Hamerton's writings - both his books and his English art periodical The Portfolio, whose purpose was to promote etching - sought to paint the author's portrait. Despite difficulties in fitting in all the necessary sittings¹⁴⁵, the two men became friends. In July 1894 Hamerton visited the Wickendens at Auvers walking "over hill and dale" with the artist and "talking on Art, of Nature and the Schools" while sitting beside the Oise River.¹⁴⁶ In September, Wickenden completed the portrait in the studio of Hamerton's house at Parc des Princes, Boulogne-sur-Seine.¹⁴⁷ Hamerton apparently

found the "portrait more dignified than he desired" and said that it made him look older than his years.¹⁴⁸

The portraits remained in Wickenden's possession. Both the oil and lithographic versions of Hamerton were exhibited by Wickenden on many subsequent occasions, usually with some indication of the personal friendship between the author and the artist including the fact that the portrait was painted from life in the intimacy of the author's studio.¹⁴⁹ The implicit suggestion that Wickenden's art carried the approval of a critic of Hamerton's stature was intended to add to the "aura of the artist" in the same manner as the links with Daubigny and the Barbizon tradition.¹⁵⁰ Hamerton's writings were an important source of inspiration for the artists and patrons involved in the revival of etching movement in the United States.¹⁵¹ In the late 1870s, the press carried "extensive testimony of his influence" suggesting that his name was as familiar to general readers as that of Ruskin.¹⁵² By the 1880s, Hamerton's influence was so substantial that a contemporary stated, "I think it hardly possible to overestimate the effect of Mr. Hamerton's writings".¹⁵³

Besides the Hamerton portrait, the exhibition at Keppels included 27 oil paintings, 12 watercolours, and 15 lithographs - a ratio that reflects the position of lithography in Wickenden's total production. Since nearly half these lithographs were portraits, any prospective patrons interested in commissioning work had ample evidence of Wickenden's range of skill in that line. Among the new portraits, not previously discussed was Monsieur le Docteur Pierre Vanier (Cat.15), who treated both the Daubigny and Wickenden families. Almost as numerous as the portraits were genre scenes

depicting an isolated figure without background like The Spinner or Le Père Jorelle or figures in a landscape as in The Return of the Flock. Only two of the prints were pure landscape - one an etching, Corner of the Artist's House (Cat.18) and Notre Dame de Paris (Cat.17), an oversize print in which the cathedral looms over the viewer.

In the press, it was the lithographs that won the most favourable attention.

...Probably nothing, either in subject or treatment, will find greater favor than some small lithographs, notably numbers 42 and 43 [The Harvest Moon and The Return of the Flock], both of which received honorable mention at the Salon of 1894. In the same medium, a small portrait of Mr. Keppel will strike the most casual observer as being very like its original. Several of these lithographs are from the oil-paintings by Mr. Wickenden which are also on exhibition here, along with a few watercolors, thus affording a comparison, not always, be it kindly said, in favor of the paintings.¹⁵⁴

The Illustrated American reproduced La Mère Panneçaye which it termed "an artistic bit of work" and quoted from La Revue des Beaux-Arts in characterizing The Harvest Moon and The Return of the Flock as "art of elevated character", expressing "elevated grandeur", and stating that "nothing in the work of Millet [is] more intensely pastoral and poetic".¹⁵⁵ Similarly, The Art Amateur chose to concentrate on Wickenden's prints rather than his paintings, opening its review with the statement that "Mr. Robert J. Wickenden, who deserves to be well known as an etcher, and even better known as an artist in lithography" is holding an exhibition at Keppels.¹⁵⁶ The

writer's focus is directed towards the idea of a print as a drawing - a concept already discussed concerning French critics and a view also held by P.G. Hamerton.¹⁵⁷ The reviewer noted that "Mr. Wickenden's strong point, however, is his drawing, which is at once correct, graceful, and refined in feeling."¹⁵⁸

Some months later, The Art Amateur expanded on its discussion of Wickenden's lithographs including reproductions of his Self-Portrait (Cat. 13), A Twilight Pastoral¹⁵⁹, and The Harvest Moon.¹⁶⁰ The latter print received particular praise.

The Harvest Moon (awarded an honorable mention at the Salon of 1894) is remarkable among modern lithographers for the tender gradation of light in the sky and the softness and transparency of the shadows, in which we perceive the forms of the shocks of reaped and bound grain, and the reapers preparing to go home after their long day's work. The scene is simply presented without exaggeration or emphasis, and is not overcharged with meaning.¹⁶¹

Wickenden took almost all the work exhibited in New York on to Detroit for a January exhibition at Hanna & Noyes Gallery. Complimentary quotes from the New York press combined with references to the artist's exhibitions in France presented him as a figure who had found success in the important Paris and New York art markets. This Detroit exhibition apparently realized several thousand dollars of sales for the artist.¹⁶² In February, Wickenden sailed for Europe to rejoin his family at Auvers.¹⁶³ Again, he plunged into the official European exhibitions, showing Monsieur le Docteur Pierre Vanier and Notre-Dame de Paris at the Paris Salon.

The fact was, however, that "with the blossoming of publications and private exhibitions, the Salon was becoming increasingly unimportant as a showcase for prints".¹⁶⁴

He also exhibited four lithographs - La Mère Panneçaye, La Rentrée du troupeau, Lune de la moisson, and Notre-Dame de Paris - at the Exposition Internationale du Centenaire de la Lithographie. The latter lithograph was awarded a "diplome d'honneur". This juried exhibition, held from September 28 to November 30 in the Galerie Rapp at the Palais des Beaux-Arts, Champs de Mars to mark the hundredth anniversary of the invention of the medium was very substantial, including 200 original prints by living artists. Under the auspices of the Paris newspaper Le Figaro, a fifty-page album was published to mark the occasion. The articles included a history of lithography by Henri Buchot, an examination of the renaissance of lithography by Henry Hamel, a note on painter-lithographers by Léonce Bénédict, and a survey of the exhibition by H. Frichet. In the introductory essay, Philippe Gille singled out among the foreign artists exhibiting, Wickenden's contribution.

La place me manque pour citer aussi de magnifiques pièces étrangères signées: Goya, Alma Tadema, John Groscombe, Sargent, mais je signalerai spécialement de véritables chefs d'oeuvre de M. Wickenden, une vue de Notre-Dame la nuit, et une tête de vieille femme.¹⁶⁵

While such consistently high praise was important for Wickenden in carving out a career as an artist and served as an independent evaluation of his success, it was not enough. No individual journalist or journal was actively promoting his work on

an ongoing basis. Furthermore, no dealer handling Wickenden's work, such as Hanna & Noyes, Keppel, Schill, or Macbeth Gallery appears to have promoted his art continually or with particular vigour beyond the specifics of his two-week solo exhibitions. This contrasts, for example, with the treatment of Wickenden's contemporary Horatio Walker, who painted similar subjects in a style also allied with the Barbizon tradition, by his New York dealer N.E. Montross.¹⁶⁶ No less a consideration is the fact that to date Wickenden's greatest critical successes were his lithographs. In the marketplace, lithographs (even the sum of the total run of a print) did not command the same price as an oil painting, or even the same price as prints in other media.¹⁶⁷

Wickenden's solution to his quest for financial stability was another auction of his art collection in April 1896. He chose the firm Robinson and Fisher in London to sell off the paintings and prints that he had been amassing since his successful 1893 New York auction. The composition of the sale was similar to the first one. Such receipts as have survived indicate that Wickenden had continued to buy from such Paris dealers as Gustave Pilon, P. Bourdeil, Mme. Waquier, Bouvard, Alexandre Caffin, and, as always, from Mme. Karl Daubigny in Auvers. The results in 1896 were diametrically opposite to those of 1893. The sale was an unmitigated disaster. Not only did Wickenden lose his collection, he also lost money on the sale as the gross was insufficient to cover the commission and other expenses. In short, the artist was broke.¹⁶⁸ Thus, after ten years of activity and repeated signs of promise, the first phase of Robert Wickenden's

participation in the late nineteenth-century print revival came to a close at an all-time low. New strategies were needed.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. Robert and Ada Wickenden had left New York in July 1886 for the Isle of Jersey where Ada's father was seriously ill. Sometime after his death (November 22), they moved on to Paris. (A. A. Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia, 34.)

2. Linda Henefield Skalet, "The Market for American Painting in New York, 1870-1915" (Diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1980) ii.

3. Ibid., 2-3.

4. Peter Bermingham, American Art in the Barbizon Mood (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1975) 17. He states that Barbizon art was "...the most consistently sought after item at galleries and auction blocks. Serious collectors, speculators, and dilettantes, healthy survivors in the race for success and prestige, all found emotional and financial compensation in the silvery glades of Corot, the contented cows and sheep of Jacques and Troyon, and a spectacular reaffirmation of the Puritan ethic in the stolid peasants of Millet."

5. Lois Marie Fink, "The Innovation of Tradition in Late Nineteenth-Century American Art," American Art Journal X,2 (November 1978): 63.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid., 65.

8. Ibid., 66. Fink argues that this strong link with tradition was in fact, an innovative stance by American artists. She reasons that earlier American artists were largely self-taught with limited access to sophisticated art schools and little first-hand visual knowledge of the history of art. Artists of the 1860s and 1870s who chose to seek their education in the international art schools, who had the opportunity to visit the museums of Europe, and who chose to identify themselves with the European traditions in art, represented a major break from their own native American heritage. Wickenden, along with many others of his generation, perpetuated this practise of linking his art production to history and tradition.

9. A. A. Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia, 46.

10. The work's title, An Arcadian Shepherdess, suggests that Wickenden was combining a subject with strong literary and classical overtones with the Barbizon palette and landscape tradition.

11. He sold works by those painters to Ellen Stevens of Detroit.

12. A. A. Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia, 47.

13. John Rewald, Post-Impressionism from Van Gogh to Gauguin (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1962 ed.) 388.

14. Dupré's studio was at l'Isle-Adam, some three miles away.

15. R.J. Wickenden, "Paul-Adolphe Rajon (1842-1888)," The Print Collector's Quarterly 6,4 (December 1916): 426. Wickenden describes Rajon's studio in some detail as well as the outings that they shared on the plains of Auvers. Rajon was a favourite of the Wickenden children.

16. A. A. Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia, 47.

17. Thomas A. Wilmurt, 54 East 13th St., New York, was an art dealer.

18. J. Carroll Beckwith, 58 W. 54th St., New York, letter to Wickenden, January 23, 1888.

19. Souvenir d'Automne (#3694) and Fileuse (#3695) were both watercolours. The model for Fileuse was la Mère Panneçaye, a near-destitute 77-year old French woman hired by Wickenden both as a model and as a nurse for their two children, Alfred and Alice. (A. A. Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia, 52.)

20. Côtes fleuries, Ile de Jersey (#1474) and An Autumn Impression, Off Jersey, Stormy Weather, Twixt Night and Day, Sunset, (the last four were all shown as #1475) were all watercolours.

21. Study of Oaks, Isle of Jersey was a watercolour. The subject matter evokes similar work by Théodore Rousseau.

The American entries to the Munich International Exhibition were selected by artist committees based in several American and European cities. Wickenden was a member of the Paris-based committee along with F. Bridgman, Reinhart, Knight, Weeks, Charles

Sprague Pearce, Grayson, Birge Harrison, Rolshoven, Gay, Frank Duveneck and H.H. Kitson.

22. In the spring of 1888, Wickenden moved his family again from Paris to Auvers-sur-Oise, boarding first with M. Tahon as in the previous year, and then moving to an old farm known as "Les Vallées". His neighbours were Charles Sprague Pearce, a Boston artist occupying the former studio of Rajon, and Mme. Daubigny.

23. Beckwith, New York, letter to Wickenden, June 12, 1888.

24. The Wickendens lived at Neuilly. Wickenden shared a studio with Ulpiano Checa at 235, Faubourg St. Honoré, Paris.

25. Flower Hillside, Jersey (watercolour) had been exhibited the previous year at the Exposition Internationale de Blanc et Noir, Paris as Côtes Fleuries, Ile de Jersey. Midi (#330) was a 9" x 14" panel, also known as Noontide, Plain of Auvers. Throughout his career, Wickenden frequently exhibited the same work in any number of exhibitions citing the picture's previous exhibition history in the accompanying catalogue as a sign of official approval.

26. Study of Oak Trees, Isle of Jersey had been exhibited in 1888 at the Munich International Exhibition.

27. In Springtime was an oil painting. Horace Bradley, Wickenden's friend and fellow-artist (elected President of the Art Students' League, 1888), expressed his admiration for this canvas. "I had the pleasure of seeing the latter at the Prize Fund Exhibition this spring and was glad to get a good view of it. [He had previously seen a photograph of it, through one of Wickenden's former pupils, a Miss Duncan who had come to Bradley for advice with a letter of introduction from Wickenden.] It was hung on the line and held its own nobly with all surrounding pictures. I can certainly congratulate you on the progress you have made and hope to see many strong things from you while situated in so congenial [an] art atmosphere." (Horace Bradley, 143 East 23rd St., New York, letter to Wickenden, June 25, 1889.)

Wickenden's friend, Carroll Beckwith, was similarly appreciative. "Your little shepherdess is now at the Art Association and looks exceedingly well. Very few pictures have sold anywhere this winter, it has been the worst for a number of years in spite of the assurances of the republicans who are running things their own

way and everyone is poorer than before." (Beckwith, letter to Wickenden, June 11, 1889.)

28. L'Approche du Soir (oil), Midi (this painting was refused for exhibition by the New York Academy in 1890), Les Cotes Fleuries, Spring, Autumn, Evening (the subject - sheep coming home in the evening - is reminiscent of the subject matter of Charles Jacque). Horace Bradley wrote again, "I am glad that you are represented at the Exposition and in the Salon again. There never was anything slow about you...". (Horace Bradley, Middletown, Conn., letter to Wickenden, July 20, 1889.)

29. Unidentified clipping, Detroit newspaper.

30. Unidentified clipping, Toledo newspaper.

31. George Sheldon, 42 avenue de Breteuil, Paris, letter to Wickenden, June 5, 1889. His book Recent Ideals of American Art (New York & London: Garland, 1889) was one of a series published at the time to document "The Art Experience in Late Nineteenth-Century America".

32. Ibid. (1977 edition), 130.

33. Hanna & Ives, East Grand Circus, Detroit, letter to Wickenden, Paris, July 6, 1889. The firm's letterhead announced its business as "Art Galleries" and "Manufacturers of and Dealers in Artists' Materials and Picture Frames". The combination was quite usual for the time and in fact, is still so today. The pictures were not purchased outright as Wickenden had hoped but rather were taken on consignment. "As to purchasing we are to [sic.] short of funds to invest in anything but hope to be able to find a customer when business starts up again."

Wickenden also sent a case of pictures to his New York dealer, Wm. Schill, February 18, 1889.

34. Ulpiano Checa, Colmenar de Orega, letter to Wickenden, August 10, 1889. He also said, "Je vous en prie de ne pas me parler de cents francs que je vous en prêter je ne suis pas pressé et vous pouvez rester tranquille sur cet affaire là." French was the language of communication between the two artists, despite Checa's obvious errors in spelling and grammar. Wickenden was very comfortable in

French, perhaps because his wife's family was of French descent. In later years, she gave French lessons in Brooklyn.

35. Sheridan Ford, 2 Redburn St., Chelsea S.W., letter to Wickenden, April 29, 1889. "Charles-François Daubigny" was subsequently published in The Century Magazine XLIV, 3 (July 1892): 323-337 with illustrations by Horace Bradley. Correspondence with the magazine, however, dates from 1889 with Wickenden receiving \$100.00 (The Century Co., New York, letter to Wickenden, October 23, 1889) and Bradley, \$125.00 for six drawings (Horace Bradley, 120 West 150th St., New York, letter to Wickenden, December 7, 1889.) An entry in Wickenden's account book, however, indicates that he received payment of \$200.00 from The Century Co., New York for the "Daubigny article and material".

36. Sheridan Ford, letter to Wickenden, Thursday morning, 1889. "Neither Tripp nor any other Paris dealer will pronounce the picture genuine without any money being put up for the opinion. Don't show it to him or to any others of the gang. The time spent is wasted and besides I am square against having the picture peddled from door to door.

It came to me without any authentic guarantee and I am convinced that it is genuine. That is all that can be said. I never in my wildest moment ever expected to sell it in Paris or through the agency of any dealer. My only idea in relation to yourself was that perhaps you might have some personal friend who would advance enough on it to take you to Detroit. That is all. The picture was bought at the Drouot in a sale in which there was only one picture all the rest of the stuff being furniture. When it was first brought home it was in a very dirty neglected condition. After careful cleaning it was as you see it now...."

Another letter from Sheridan Ford, 10 Duchess St., Portland Place, W. London to Wickenden, January 8, 1889, stated that, "The outside price of the Diaz is \$1500; the lowest \$1,000.00 but don't turn any offer away until you have time to communicate with me."

37. Charles Sprague Pearce, Auvers-sur-Oise, letter to Wickenden, April 13, 1889. "In regard to the drawing by Millet I am sorry that I am not in a financial condition at present to take it of you but I have just put all my spare cash into a large piece of land back of my house."

38. J. E. Scripps, *The Evening News*, Detroit, letter to Wickenden, September 8, 1889. "I hope this will reach you before you leave home though I have some misgivings. However, I will risk enclosing the equivalent of \$100 as you request...I shall be glad to welcome you to Detroit and hope you will have success in disposing of some of your work." In a postscript, Scripps feared the money wouldn't arrive in time and suggested Wickenden borrow in France and receive the \$100 loan from Scripps upon his arrival in the United States. (This he did, as evident in a letter of October 1, 1889).

39. In 1889, Wickenden had again passed the summer months at Auvers. A promissory note, signed and witnessed September 16, 1889, for \$65 francs included the following: Cabine à Villerville de Daubigny père 300 fr., rue à Auvers, 50 fr., Coucher de soleil en Normandie 60 fr., Coucher de soleil 60 fr., Mer verte 60 fr., 2 études moutons Daubigny père 150 fr., 1 album dessins Daubigny père 25 fr., 52 eaux-fortes Daubigny père 160 fr. The works purchased represented a lot of money to Wickenden but in the larger art world, he was dealing in relatively inexpensive pieces. John Rewald, *Post-Impressionism: From Van Gogh to Gauguin*, 411, gives an exchange rate of roughly five French francs to one American dollar in 1891.

40. A. A. Wickenden, *Castle in Bohemia*, 58. Wickenden returned to Europe in February 1890.

Beckwith's letter to Wickenden, March 17, 1889 had stated, "There has been very little prosperity among the artists this winter and were it not for the teaching and writing done by many of them they would have hard times."

Sales memos indicate that Wickenden sold four works to R.G. Chandler, a hardware merchant in Coldwater, Michigan through the Lewis Gallery there. Other sales were to Frederick Driggs, Mrs. Ellen Stevens, Charles Lang Freer, James Scripps, Jas. Weed of Toledo, and James G. Moulton from St. Paul, Minnesota.

Wickenden returned to Europe with an order from Moulton: "Please see the Artists and do the best you can for me. Charles Sprague Pearce size about 16 x 20; J.F. Millet size about 16 x 20 or 20 x 30; Checa, U.; also get the lowest price of pictures exhibited by Souza Pinto, *A Nest in the Woods*. I want you to send me two Catalogues also, same as the one you have only different years for reference." (J.G. Moulton, Office of the Twin City Jockey Club, St. Paul, letter to Wickenden, December 28, 1889.) Subsequent letters from Moulton bear the letterhead inscription "James G. Moulton & Co.,

Importers and Dealers in Foreign and American Paintings, 55 McCormick Block, Chicago, Illinois".

41. Freer is known for the Washington, D.C. art museum that bears his name, (The Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution) and houses his collection of Oriental and American art. The American section includes virtually every print by Whistler, paintings by Whistler, and a selection of paintings by Dwight William Tryon, Thomas Wilmer Dewing, and Abbott Handerson Thayer.

Freer offered his collection to the Smithsonian on December 27, 1904. The offer included a collection valued at one million dollars, \$500,000.00 cash, plans for a building to bear his name, and a request for maintenance of same by the U.S. government in perpetuity. The gift was not accepted until January 4, 1906, and was done so then, only through the intervention of President Theodore Roosevelt. (Aline B. Saarinen, The Proud Possessors [New York: Random House, 1958] 120, 126-127, 135-136, and 141.)

On his American collection, references include Susan Hobbs, "A Connoisseur's Vision: The American Collection of James Lang Freer," American Art Review 4 (August 1977): 76-101, and also Nichols Clark, "Charles Lang Freer: An American Aesthete in the Gilded Era," The American Art Journal XI,4 (October 1979): 54-68.

42. Charles Lang Freer, Detroit, letter to Wickenden, November 13, 1889. "I take pleasure in handing you herewith check for forty dollars, the same being payment for the five etchings by Daubigny purchased from you last evening.

Will you kindly confirm by letter the principal facts in connection with the previous ownership of these etchings as stated by you to me verbally, i.e., the fact that these etchings came from Daubigny's own collection gives them increased interest, and a letter to that effect from you will be a welcome addition to my correspondence of a similar nature."

43. Promissory note to Mme. Karl Daubigny from Wickenden, September 16, 1889 recorded 52 eaux-fortes by Daubigny père for 160 francs.

44. Colleen Hennessey, Archivist, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery/Freer Gallery of Art Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., letter to the author, December 14, 1988. The information is from the Inventory of the Charles Lang Freer Papers.

45. Wickenden must have been a prolific correspondent as he juggled his own art exhibitions and sales with his dealings in work by other artists. Under June 20, 1890, he records "Write to H. & N. [Hanna & Noyes, the successor to Hanna & Ives, Detroit] about things offer- Corot, C.M. \$100-Daubigny Peasant Woman \$100- Chintreuil \$150- Rousseau study \$100 - Diaz watercolour \$100- or all for \$500-also write to Mr. Moulton offer Rousseau early study for \$150-also write to D.F. June 21. Write to Mother, Mrs. Coyl, Aunt Sarah. Send books Mrs. Coyl, Moulton, Freer, Chandler, Pingree, Newcomb etc. Account Book and Memoranda Robt. J. Wickenden #I.

46. Freer, letter to Wickenden, July 3, 1890.

47. Agreement between Mme. Karl Daubigny and Robert Wickenden for the rental of a painter's studio and apartment for three months, July-September 1890 inclusive. Wickenden's "occupying Daubigny's studio" became an established part of his "curriculum vitae" from this time forward. See for example in Appendix C Exhibition List of Robert J. Wickenden, the entry for the 1890 exhibition organized by Isaiah Price at the Art Rooms, 32 North 15th St., Philadelphia. The repetition of this fact developed an aura around Wickenden as a designated "artist-heir" to the Barbizon tradition. Bénézit goes so far as to claim that "Wickenden a comme écrivain, une place très remarquée. C'est l'historiographe autorisé des maîtres de l'Ecole de Barbizon." E. Bénézit, Dictionnaire des Peintres, Sculpteurs, Dessinateurs et Graveurs 10, 722.

48. During the period from February to August, 1890, Wickenden exhibited only once - at the Paris Salon. He showed L'Approche du Soir (as in 1889) and Thoughts of the Absent (a portrait of his wife Ada, at about twenty-five years of age).

49. Wickenden, Les Vallée. Auvers-sur-Oise, letter to Freer, August 12, 1890. Charles Lang Free. Papers, Freer Gallery of Art/Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archives, Washington, D.C.

50. Freer owned three etchings by Seiguer purchased from Wickenden: Chickens, Cats in Basket, and Birds. Colleen Hennessey, Archivist, Freer Gallery of Art, letter to the author, December 14, 1988.

51. Freer, Detroit, letter to Wickenden, Hotel Lafayette, Philadelphia, November 26, 1890.

52. Colleen Hennessey, letter to the author, December 14, 1988.

53. Freer met Tryon in 1889, Whistler in 1890, Dewing and Thayer early in 1893. His acquaintance with Sargent, Melchers, Metcalf and others dates from after 1900. (Susan Hobbs, "A Connoisseur's Vision...", 78.)

Hobbs characterizes Freer's patronage as "unusual" because he knew the artists, a point with which I disagree. Many serious collectors at the time made the effort to visit the artists in their studios and made their purchases sometimes from the artists and sometimes through dealers. Artists often decorated their studios with the prospective buyer in mind. William Merritt Chase is a good example of this practice. See also Annette Blaugrund, "The Tenth Street Studio Building: A Roster 1857-1895," The American Art Journal, Spring 1982: 64-71.

54. Colleen Hennessey, Archivist, Freer Gallery of Art, letter to the author, December 17, 1988.

55. Hobbs, "A Connoisseur's Vision...", 81. Also p. 100, "Most came from M. Knoedler and Company; these works are no longer in the collection."

56. Nichols Clark, "Charles Lang Freer; An American Aesthete in the Gilded Era," 54. This evidence concerning Wickenden obviously calls into question the statement by Clark: "Yet Freer thought very highly of his American paintings and in his gift to the nation, he stipulated that nothing could be added to or subtracted from his American collection. As a result, this aspect of Freer's taste has come down to us unchanged."

57. Aline Saarinen, The Proud Possessors, 126, relates that, "There was one Detroit collector with whom he [Freer] might have stood on common grounds. James Scripps, publisher of the Detroit News, had done rather well acquiring Dutch and Flemish old masters in the auction rooms when he went abroad for his health in the mid-eighties...But Scripps and Freer were kept from artistic intimacy by business enmity. As the voice of the people, Scripps righteously castigated Freer during the Depression of 1893 for continuing to employ Polish immigrants, rather than hire Michigan unemployed at higher wages. His newspaper regularly criticized Freer as a prince of privilege...."

58. "Foreword", The Detroit Institute of Arts (Detroit: The Detroit Institute of Arts, 1966) i-4. Other Detroit patrons of Wickenden (both of his own work and that of other artists whose work he sold) included in the original group of forty founding donors to the museum were George F. Moore and C. A. Newcomb.

59. Ibid., 4. Also Scripps, letter to Wickenden, October 1, 1889. "We begin hanging my collection to-morrow. Private view on Saturday. I am wondering how they will be received. In order to throw a little seriousness into the acceptance of the pictures, I have offered the Museum the choice of the best fifty out of 85 in all. I hope you will be here to help make the selections."

And John Ward Dunsmore, Director, The Detroit Museum of Arts, letter to Wickenden, October 26, 1889. "I would be pleased to have you visit the gallery at your convenience and... In order that the acceptance of Mr. Scripps' offer not be too long delayed, I would ask you to send me your opinion not later than Saturday November 2." Fifty persons were asked to select fifty paintings from the exhibition to determine the exact nature of the gift. In recognition of Scripps' importance to the early years of the Detroit Museum of Art (now the Detroit Institute of Arts), his portrait painted by Wickenden is on permanent display in the museum entrance. The first version was painted in the early fall of 1904. A later replica (both original and replica are by Wickenden) is the one on display.

60. Account Book and Memoranda Robert J. Wickenden # I. Under November 11, 1889, Wickenden recorded sales of etchings to Mrs. Stevens \$50, Mr. Freer \$40 and Mr Scripps \$10.

61. Scripps, letter to Wickenden, August 28, 1890.

62. Scripps, letter to Wickenden, November 22, 1890. A letter from Scripps to Wickenden, October 15, 1904, mentions that the Wickenden portrait of Scripps had just been hung and also states, "I have decided to keep the Daubigny and enclose herewith check for the same in accordance with your offer."

63. "Invoice of Works of Art belonging to Robt. J. Wickenden, Paintings and Drawings, Paris 1891" (in the handwriting of Wickenden). He may well have made a separate inventory of his prints that has not survived. Invoices for his art purchases are extensive but not comprehensive. Another problem in defining the

exact nature of his art holdings was the practise of listing prints on invoices as an undefined group for a certain price compared to paintings which were habitually recorded by artist and subject or title. Provenance and size were sometimes included as well. For example on May 3, 1890, Wickenden bought from Mme. Karl Daubigny: Etudes - père Daubigny 200 fr.; Etudes-Corot 100 fr.; Aquarelle, lever de lune - père Daubigny 50 fr.; dessin, chambre de [illegible] - père Daubigny 50 fr.; 2 études, copie et dessins - Karl Daubigny 100 fr.; Eaux-fortes 69 fr. Total 609 fr.

Another invoice of July 10, 1890, again from Mme Karl Daubigny lists 11 Eaux-fortes de Daubigny père - 55 fr. with no specifics. The same is true of a July 23, 1890 invoice from P. Bourdeil, a dealer in "Tableaux, Anciens et Modernes, 6 rue de Seine, Paris".

A September 3, 1890 invoice from Mme. Daubigny to Wickenden indicates a purchase of 536.30 fr. for prints: 19 estampes Chaplin et Lalanne 38 fr; 34 eaux-fortes de Delâtre 17 fr.; 16 eaux-fortes de Daubigny net 72 fr.; 6 eaux-fortes de Karl Daubigny net 10.80 fr.; 1 Jongkind eau forte 2.00 fr.; 47 L'Artiste - images 23.50 fr.; 1 dessin de décoration de Corot 10.00 fr.; 7 lithographies de Charlet et Raffet 7.00 fr.; 3 eaux-fortes divers 6.00 fr.; Etude de Karl Daubigny Bords de l'Oise 250 fr. moins 10 %; 2 études de Karl Daubigny marines 100 fr. moins 10 %.

64. James G. Moulton, St. Paul, Minn., letter to Wickenden, May 19, 1890. (On the letterhead of James G. Moulton & Co., Importers and Dealers in European and American Paintings, Chicago, Ill.) Since Millet died in 1875, It would seem that Wickenden's contact was with the son of Jean-François Millet as the Wickenden Papers include several letters to this man.

Also a letter from Moulton to Wickenden, June 2, 1890, "...as for the painting of Mr. Pinto [Souza-Pinto] I would like the Babes in the wood very much, but I could not afford to give what he asks for such. You know, the experience you have had with people here, that for \$200 to \$400 is the limit on a picture."

65. Hanna & Noyes, letter to Wickenden, February 26, 1890.

66. Hanna & Noyes, letter to Wickenden, April 24, 1890. "We enclose your draft for \$550.00 for which please send us the 12 1/2 x 16 Diaz you spoke of also the Corot 8 x 11 unless you know of some better bargain for the same money...We hope you will ship us promptly as we think at present we have a customer for these pictures. In

sending them can you make the price as low for duties as you think will pass and in sending in bond to Detroit we think you may with safety mark price on such pictures very low. We have been selling some good pictures this spring and think things in the Picture Business has at last commenced to move in the right direction."

67. Hanna & Noyes, letter to Wickenden, July 3, 1890. "The Rousseau has arrived in good condition. We have not yet found a customer for it. We have however sold the Diaz also the Corot. We have an offer on the Rousseau but it is too low to consider...There is no doubt more to be made in Paintings than in any other branch of our business." (The company also manufactured and dealt in artists' materials and frames.)

68. Hanna & Noyes, letter to Wickenden, August 14, 1890.

69. This is a reference to work by Seiguer that Wickenden was trying to sell.

70. Hanna & Noyes, letter to Wickenden, August 14, 1890.

A letter from Hanna & Noyes to Wickenden, August 20, 1890 indicated that Wickenden did want, and would receive, immediate payment. The letter revealed an aspect of the art market that is not always publicly known. "We are puzzled about the Rousseau. The low price at which we have offered it - \$2,000.00 - causes a feeling in some quarters that it is a very inferior picture by this master. About a month since a Rousseau about the same size was sold by M. Knoedler & Co. of N.Y. for \$14,000.00 at least. We were told so by their agent. What we want to do if possible is to get some proof in writing of the authenticity of this picture - where it has been all these years and other facts in connection with it that may suggest themselves and that would assist in selling it. We have had an offer of \$1,000.00 for it but feel that we can get more for it. Soon hope you may be able to send us some convincing proof of what it is. While we have not the slightest doubt of it being a Rousseau, a very good one too, yet that is of very little weight with a buyer."

A letter from Hanna & Noyes to Wickenden, November 3, 1890 announced the sale of the Rousseau and asked Wickenden to bring another with him.

71. Hanna & Noyes, letter to Wickenden, October 10, 1890. "...We should be please to exchange the Diaz watercolor & Daubigny figure for something else but not knowing what you have we are at a loss to know what we 'want'...We think we have a quite possible buyer for

the Rembrandt if we are to get a chance at it and would like to try it on."

Hanna & Noyes, letter to Wickenden, October 22, 1890. ""Will you please send us the 'A. Baron' - 'Jules Dupré' - 'Ary Scheffer' - and #11 'Beach of Treport' and also the 'Storm in the English Channel'. We would like one of those 'K.D.s' [Karl Daubigny] and we will ship the other right back unless we decide to keep both. We know of but one possible customer for Scheffer and could tell on sight whether we could place it there."

Hanna & Noyes, letter to Wickenden, November 3, 1890. The gallery returned Daubigny's Storm at Sea and also Baron's Astronomer.

Hanna & Noyes, letter to Wickenden, November 25, 1890. The gallery remitted \$2,000.00 to Wickenden.

Hanna & Noyes, letter to Wickenden, Philadelphia, November 27, 1890. "Rembrandt was hung yesterday and looked very fine, the frame suiting it splendidly and all appearing very rich...[Mrs. Chandler] inquired about facts regarding the Diaz & Rousseau...."

Hanna & Noyes, letter to Wickenden, April 11, 1891. Payment of 6,078 francs to Wickenden (including payment to Ulpiano Checa of 1500 francs). Request for customer invoices for pictures brought over from Europe by Mr. Hanna ("Rousseau 1000 fr., Diaz landscape 500, Diaz Fig. 500, Troyon lands 835 Total 3185 fr") "We have placed the three-all but Troyon and hope to be able to place that".

Wickenden, Paris, letter to Hanna & Noyes, April 29, 1891. He mentioned a Checa painting that would be shipped within a few days and also the steps he had taken to find a Vollon at a reasonable price.

71. Ibid. Wickenden also sometimes sent sketches and/or photographs of pictures that he was trying to sell by correspondence from Europe.

Hanna & Noyes, cable to Wickenden, May 2, 1891. "Positive offer forty seven hundred and Diaz all possible"

Hanna & Noyes, letter to Wickenden, May 4, 1891 enclosed a note for \$4700. The gallery asked Wickenden to enter the picture at not "more than \$1,200 to \$1,500 at the very outside. We have no very fat thing in this deal. We can't stand the duty on more than that."

72. Katharine Lochnan and Brenda Rix, Printmaking in Nineteenth-Century France (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1988) 15.

73. French Printmakers of the Nineteenth Century (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1972) 15.

74. The revivals were also aided by printmakers who shared their knowledge of the print media with the artists and made presses available to them. The other critical role was played by journalists, critics, and curators who wrote about and published the original prints, thus disseminating the information to a wider public. Among the many examples that could be cited are Alfred Cadart, L'Artiste, Charles Baudelaire, Philippe Burty, Léonce Bénédite and La Revue des Beaux-Arts.

75. Douglas Druick, "The Lithographs of Henri Fantin-Latour: Their Place Within the Context of His Oeuvre and of His Critical Reputation" (Diss. Yale University, 1979) 243. Druick touches on this point in discussing the contributions of Rosa Bonheur to the technical possibilities of the art of lithography. "Yet if Bonheur's lithographic output is not of real significance within the body of her oeuvre, it is important for the new attitude towards lithography which was to develop over the next half century. Her experiments with lithography as a means to reproduce drawings, her particular attraction to transfer paper for this purpose, and her total disregard for what were considered the inherent properties of the lithographic medium, were to become typical of many artists of the second half of the century some of whom would become peintres-lithographes only briefly in their careers, and would produce only a modest, and sometimes inconsequential, body of prints. (Emphasis mine)

76. Ibid., 380. "...Prints, and especially lithographs, never received much consideration in general Salon reviews" is one example of this phenomenon.

77. November 16-28, 1891 at a one-man exhibition held in the Galleries of the Chicago Society of Artists in the Athenaeum Building on Van Buren Street. While in Chicago on this trip, Wickenden also exhibited in the Fourth Annual Exhibition of American Oil Paintings and Sculpture, the Fourth Annual Exhibition of Black and White (both sponsored by the Chicago Society of Artists of which Wickenden was a member) and the 1892 Spring Exhibition of Watercolors at the Art Institute of Chicago.

78. See page 21. Also R. J. Wickenden, "Paul Adolphe Rajon," The Print Collector's Quarterly 6,4 (December 1916): 426, 428, 432.

79. John Rewald, Post Impressionism: From Van Gogh to Gauguin, 388,397.

80. Wickenden sailed with his family from Europe to New York in October,1891. They moved on to Toledo to his brother Tom's, then to the Coys in Detroit, and finally to Chicago to a house on Michigan Avenue. The Wickenden house, Les Vallées, at Auvers was sublet to Sheridan Ford and his wife Mary.

81. Beckwith, 58 W. 57th St., New York, letter to Wickenden, Chicago, November 15, 1891.

82. In most cases, it is impossible to relate Wickenden's interpretation of a theme as a print to its treatment in the painted version, since the whereabouts of the bulk of his paintings is unknown.

83. The theme of this work is closely echoed by Horatio Walker's oil painting Ave Maria of 1906. Whether the similarity is due to their common links with the heritage of the Barbizon tradition or to Walker's knowledge of Wickenden's work is not known.

84. The cross was located on the Chemin du Moutier at Auvers-sur-Oise which wound past the Wickenden's house to the top of a hill where an abbey had at one time been located. (A. A. Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia, 71.)

85. Wickenden was also very fond of the writings of Emerson, Thoreau and Walt Whitman. In the spring of 1931 he was present at the unveiling of a "tablette" at the corners of Fulton and Cranberry Streets in Brooklyn organized by the Authors Club to mark the place of printing in 1855 of the first edition of Whitman's Leaves of Grass.

86. A. A. Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia, 69.

87. New York: Appleton, 1897. Curtis also wrote: L'Oeuvre lithographié et gravé de R.P. Bonington and Catalogue de l'oeuvre lithographié d'Eugène Isabey (both Paris:Paul Prouté, 1939). Loys Delteil mentions that Curtis, an American who had lived for many years in Paris, had a collection of prints by Daubigny. (Le Peintre-

Graveur Illustré. Vol. 13. - Charles-François Daubigny [Paris: Chez l'auteur, 1921] not paginated.)

88. Atherton Curtis, Paris, letter to Wickenden, October 8, 1893. Wickenden did publish a slim book of his poems in 1894 through Frederick Keppel & Co., New York entitled Poems of Nature and Sentiment. In the "Preface", Wickenden wrote that he sometimes found brush or crayon inadequate to express some of his ideas and sentiments. They eventually found expression in words and rhyme. He added, "If verse has occasionally amused me, painting has been my more constant occupation, and to arrive at poetry in both is my hope and aim."

89. Chicago: Private printing, 1891.

90. Ibid., 3.

91. Ibid., 4.

92. Ibid., 5.

93. Ibid., 6-8. Although it is not spelled out here, this treatise combined with other quotes and writings by Wickenden makes it clear that he, like George Inness, dismissed Impressionism as "mere surface work" lacking in the substance of ideas and literary references.

94. It is not known if this speech was ever delivered to an audience.

95. Wickenden never spoke of artists as other than "men". It is not without irony that most of his pupils in Detroit and Quebec City were women, raising the question whether he considered his students to be "artists" or "amateurs and dilettantes".

96. "To the ---, Ladies and Gentlemen - Art Lovers of Chicago", Speech manuscript.

97. A. A. Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia, 68-69. Also "Art Notes," The Graphic, December 5, 1891: 374.

98. "Art Notes," The Graphic, December 5, 1891: 374. The article included a pencil self-portrait of Wickenden with the inscription, "Art for me is a means of expressing that which I find beautiful in

the world of nature and thought". The article presented Wickenden as an artist who had met with success in Paris, London and New York and was represented in many prominent collections.

99. A. A. Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia, 68-69. The purchase price for the Auvers house, 4,000 fr., was only triple the monthly expenses (about \$300.00) of the Wickenden family in Chicago.

100. At its foundation in 1884 by the reproductive lithographer Paul Marou, the Société des artistes lithographes had thirty members, including professional reproductive printmakers, the printer Alfred Lemerrier, and Fantin-Latour, the only "peintre-lithographe" among the members. (Douglas Druick, "The Lithographs of Henri Fantin-Latour," 433-434.) By 1891, the Société had eleven honorary and 84 full-time members including the "peintres-lithographes" Chéret, Charpentier, Dillon, Redon and Fantin. (Druick, 436). The Société deliberately encouraged artists to join its ranks since it was felt that only through the artists' use of lithography that the medium could experience a renaissance as an original art form as opposed to its reproductive use in illustrating journals and books.

101. Other examples were the Société des aquafortistes (1862), Société des graveurs au burin (1868), and the Société des peintres-graveurs français (1889).

102. The 1891 exhibition, a retrospective devoted exclusively to lithography, reflected in part the political climate in France and the desire to appeal to nationalist pride following the 1870 defeat of France in the Franco-Prussian War; hence, the desire to revive the "golden age" of French achievement in lithography. (Douglas Druick and Peter Zegers, La Pierre Parle: Lithography in France 1848-1900 [Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1981] 90-91, 94.)

103. Fauchon, Paris, letter to Wickenden, April 13, 1893.

104. A. A. Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia, 71-72, 95-96. Checa regularly came to Auvers from Paris to spend the day with the Wickendens. The author indicates that Wickenden and Checa talked and experimented with light effects.

105. Private collection, Montreal. This lithograph appeared in Album 3 of Les Peintres-Lithographes, published in 1893 by the journal L'Artiste. Wickenden's La Rentrée du Troupeau (1893, Cat. 10) was also in the same volume.

106. Private collection, Montreal area.

107. A. A. Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia, 73-74.

108. Bills from Mme Waquier June 10, 1892, from Bourdeil June 13, 1892 and August 12, 1892.

109. A. A. Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia, 76-77. He sailed September 10, 1892 on "La Bretagne". His wife sent a crate of paintings on "La Gascogne" in December 1892, to add to those Wickenden already had with him.

110. A. Vuillier, 53 rue de Seine, Paris, letter to Mme. Wickenden, December 31, 1892 (Tableaux et Dessins Anciens et Modernes). P. Bourdeil, letter to Wickenden, January 6, 1893 and another with an illegible 1893 date.

111. Catalogue of Paintings and Studies by the Masters of 1830 and the Barbizon School (New York: The American Art Association, 1893). The artists most frequently represented were Corot, Millet, Daubigny, Diaz, and Rousseau.

112. "The Wickenden Pictures," New York Times, February 22, 1893: 5.

113. The exhibition was reported for example in the column "Art Notes of Real Interest," The Quarterly Illustrator 1,2 (April, May, June 1893): 139-140.

114. "Gallery and Studio," The Eagle (Brooklyn, N.Y.), February 19, 1893. It is also possible that the author was looking for a smooth "academic" finish on all the works as he finds the inclusion of two Daumier works, bordering on caricature, of questionable taste.

115. March 4, 1893 on "La Gascogne". Just following Wickenden's New York sale, the financial panic of 1893 set in.

116. Douglas Druick, "The Lithographs of Henri Fantin-Latour": 448.

117. Ibid., 448-449, in reference to Bénédite's preface to E. Duchatel's Traité de lithographie artistique.

118. Léonce Bénédict, "Les peintres lithographes," Figaro-lithographe (Paris: Imprimerie Lemerrier, 1895):48. This volume was published under the auspices of the newspaper Le Figaro to mark the exhibition of the centenary of lithography 1795-1895.

119. The Keppel family had been in Europe for the spring months. Correspondence from Frederick Keppel on his business stationery to Wickenden at this time indicates the firm had three offices: 27 Quai de l'horloge, Paris; 20 East 16th St., New York; and 24 Van Buren St., Chicago.

120. "It was the talented 'essayeur' [E.] Duchâtel from the printing firm of Lemerrier who worked together with the artists in producing their prints" for the fascicules of Les peintres-lithographes, published from 1892 by L'Artiste. (Douglas Druick, "The Lithographs of Henri Fantin-Latour": 444-445.)

121. Keppel, Paris, letter to Wickenden, August 1, 1893. A letter of August 21, 1893 indicated that Keppel and his family were back in New York.

122. Douglas Druick, "The Lithographs of Henri Fantin-Latour": 450.

123. Keppel, 27 Quai de l'Horloge, Paris, letter to Wickenden, August 10, 1893.

124. Ibid.

125. Keppel, 239 East Seventieth St., New York, letter to Wickenden, September 14, 1893. Also Frederick Keppel, "Sir Joshua Reynolds," Scribner's Magazine XV, 10 (January-June 1894): 107-108.

126. A. A. Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia, 106. On the Daubignys in general, 105-114. Wickenden maintained his contact with the family for many years. In 1926 for example, he painted the portrait of young Claude Raskin, the great-great grandchild of Charles-François Daubigny at Auvers.

127. In 1923, for example the Canadian critic Hector Charlesworth began a review of Wickenden's Toronto exhibition with the following sentence. "Robert J. Wickenden is a veteran painter of high distinction who was long associated with Daubigny in Paris, though a native of Dickens' town, Rochester in Kent." ("Two Picture Exhibitions," Saturday Night, March 31, 1923: 5.) Charlesworth has

ignored the fact that Charles-François Daubigny died in 1878 before Wickenden even went to Europe, and that Karl Daubigny died in 1886 before Wickenden started spending summers, let alone living, at Auvers.

128. Quoted in A. A. Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia, 122. The letter itself has not survived.

129. Paris: L'Artiste, 1893.

130. The paintings he submitted to the 1894 Salon were rejected. (A. A. Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia, 126.)

131. In addition to the following citations, Wickenden was also favourably mentioned in Le Moniteur de arts, le 29 juin, 1894 and le 20 juillet, 1894, and La Petite République, le 30 mai, 1894, and Journal des arts, le 24 août, 1894 (untitled clippings).

132. Untitled clipping, La Revue des Beaux-Arts, le 6 mai, 1894.

133. Untitled clipping, La Revue des Beaux-Arts, le 22 juillet 1894.

134. Douglas Druick, "The Lithographs of Henri Fantin-Latour": 433-436.

135. Unfortunately this journal is now very difficult to locate. The only copy I know of is part of the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale, France and is held at Versailles. (Douglas Druick, Prince Trust Curator of Prints and Drawings, The Art Institute of Chicago, letter to the author, March 24, 1989.)

136. #332 Au bord de la mer Egée and #333 La fin de la journée.

137. #141 Whisperings of Spring

138. #494 Going to Market

139. Le Repas du Soir. Wickenden's friend Horace Bradley, forced to quit his New York position as illustrator with Harper's due to tuberculosis, was employed by the Cotton States Exposition to collect paintings from the capitals of Europe for exhibit. In this task, he was helped by Wickenden who obtained work from Checa, Souza-Pinto, Demont, Merson, McMonnies, and Louise Abbeman - all eager to tap

the American market. (A. A. Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia, 126-126a.)

140. Ibid., 127. October 6, 1894 on S.S. Campania.

141. Exhibition of Paintings, Aquarelles, Drawings, Lithographs, Etchings by Robert J. Wickenden. October 29-November 13, 1894. A complete listing of the works exhibited is included in Appendix A.

142. In a sense, the annotated catalogue listing contradicts this statement for some works are dated from as early as 1888 and 1889, and only a few, mostly portraits, are listed as "not for sale".

143. A. A. Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia, 130.

144. P.G. Hamerton and Eugene Hamerton, An Autobiography 1834-1858 and a Biography By His Wife 1858-1894 (Boston: Roberts Bros, 1896) 561. "During the sittings a friendship was formed between model and painter." The author had visited Checa in order to obtain biographical information for an article on the artist. (P.G. Hamerton, "An Unlucky Meeting Painted by Ulpiano Checa," Scribner's Magazine XVI,3 [September 1894]: 312-315)

145. Hamerton, 13 rue Moisson Desroches, Parc des Princes, letter to Wickenden, no date. "I shall be glad to see you any Friday afternoon.

As to the portrait I have no time for five sittings at present but may later. With best thanks for your kind proposal to paint my old face...P.S. I made a capital article out of Checa's notes."

146. Robert J. Wickenden, "Philip Gilbert Hamerton," manuscript.

147. Ibid.

148. A. A. Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia, 98. The author recalls Hamerton as a figure of such "pomp and presence", compared to the outgoing nature of other visiting artists, that the strain of a meal with the renowned author provoked the boy to an outburst of tears.

149. e.g., Catalogue introduction to the January 1895 exhibition of Robert J. Wickenden's paintings at Hanna & Noyes, Detroit.

150. The Keppel press release publicizing Wickenden's exhibition stated this approval in a very forthright manner. "A feature of special interest will be the portrait in oils of Philip Gilbert Hamerton,

which the artist has just completed, this being the first occasion on which the eminent author and art critic has authorized the exhibition of any portrait of himself in America." (Quoted in an Untitled clipping, The Times [Brooklyn, N.Y.], October 27, 1894.)

151. Rona Schneider, "The American Etching Revival: Its French Sources and Early Years," The American Art Journal XIV,4 (Autumn 1982): 51. The republishing of Hamerton's book, Etching and Etchers (London 1868), in Boston in 1876 was an important event in the American art world.

152. Ibid., 53. The author quotes the review of Hamerton's book from "The Graphic Arts," The Southern Review 21 (January 1977): 74-105.

153. Ibid. The author quotes J. R. W. Hitchcock, Etching in America (New York, 1886) 28-29.

154. Untitled clipping, The Post (New York), November 3, 1894.

155. Untitled clipping, The Illustrated American (New York), November 17, 1894.

156. "Minor Exhibitions," The Art Amateur 32, 1 (December 1894): 5. There is no documentation available at present, to illustrate Wickenden's body of work as an etcher. Only two etchings, Corner of an Artist's House and Sir Thomas More, after Dürer, which is of a much later date, have survived. There is incomplete evidence to suggest that Wickenden may have been commissioned to execute illustrations for The Herald around the end of the 1880s - whether these were drawings or etchings, etc. cannot be determined.

157. Rona Schneider, "The American Etching Revival...": 54-56 The author notes that Hamerton's theories were "borrowed heavily" from Charles Blanc and Philippe Burty and that American critics, in turn turned to Hamerton and the French writers for their aesthetic theories.

158. "Minor Exhibitions," The Art Amateur 32, 1 (December 1894): 5.

159. Using the title, The Shepherd Boy.

160. "Robert J. Wickenden," The Art Amateur 33, 2 (July 1895): 26.

161. Ibid. The article also discusses Wickenden's book of poetry Poems of Nature and Sentiment, and his painting The End of the Day, reproduced in colour. Copies of the latter were subsequently offered for sale at thirty cents in the magazine's Catalogue of Colour Studies and Pictures. (The Art Amateur, December 1895, supplement.)

162. A. A. Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia, 131. While in Detroit, Wickenden did some commissioned work, including a portrait of the son of Charles Stinchfield.

163. Ibid., 132.

164. Douglas Druick, "The Lithographs of Henri Fantin-Latour": 446. This was true even in the early 1890s.

165. Philippe Gille, "Vue d'ensemble," Figaro-Lithographe (Paris: Imprimerie Lemercler, 1895) iv.

166. David Karel, Horatio Walker (Québec: Musée du Québec, 1987) 19 and 21. Montross for example, published prints of Walker's paintings to heighten interest in his work among the public.

167. Douglas Druick, "The Lithographs of Henri Fantin-Latour": 413-414. Wickenden's financial returns from his lithographs seem similar to other artists like Fantin whose oils commanded up to 250 pounds sterling, but year after year his lithographs were priced at just over two pounds per print. Furthermore, the prices for his lithographs were much less than those obtained for etchings by artists such as Tissot or Félix Buhot.

168. A. A. Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia, 168-171.

CHAPTER 3CANADA: NEW STRATEGIES 1896-1906

Wickenden's failure to realize a good profit from the April 1896 auction of his collection in London, England was not unique in the art world. Auction prices were, and still are, unpredictable frequently proving to be either much higher or much lower than an artist or dealer could command for the same work. Moreover, prices sometimes varied significantly from one night to the next, and from one city to another. Clearly, the demand for Barbizon art in the London market of 1896 was significantly less than in the New York market of 1893 when Wickenden had realized a handsome profit. The vagaries of the market affected all artists in Europe and North America, including his former teacher, William Merritt Chase, for example, who was repeatedly disappointed by the net returns from auctions of his work.¹

Wickenden's immediate response to his financial and career dilemma was predictable. First, he sought financial assistance from family and friends², then he took out a mortgage of 4,000 francs on his property at Auvers³, and he also managed to sell several of his paintings through the Paris dealer, Cousins⁴. Moreover, he continued to seek official recognition by exhibiting a lithograph, Le Crépuscule (Cat. 21), at the Paris Salon.⁵ A shepherdess in classical costume is seated in the landscape, playing a lyre.⁶ At her feet a flock of resting sheep shows evidence of the artist's use of a scraper to capture the light reflected from the rising moon. The setting is very dark and moody with the foreground details disappearing into the hazy background of dark, velvety foliage.

In this lithograph, the artist has attempted to bring together the real and the ideal aspects of art that he had been exploring in his 1891 pamphlet.⁷ The exploration of the effects of twilight, the use of landscape, and the choice of rural subject matter all loosely reflect the Barbizon tradition to which Wickenden had adhered. The use of ancient costume at this period, however, is an attempt to evoke images that carry the weight of history and the classical tradition. It is also evocative of the contemporary imagery of Puvis de Chavannes who so frequently depicted figures draped in classical costume in a landscape setting.⁸ Wickenden's tendency, like the Pre-Raphaelites and the Symbolists, to turn to legend, myth, arcadia and literature as inspiration for his subject matter would also explain his inclusion in the 1896 Salon de la Rose+Croix.⁹

Alongside the predictable responses of seeking financing and exhibiting in official exhibitions to resolve the dilemma of the disastrous London auction, Wickenden made a very bold and unpredictable decision. He resolved to set off in a new direction, setting his sights on the Canadian art market, and most particularly on Quebec City. Up to this time, he is not known to have had any direct contact with Canada or Canadian artists, dealers or critics. It is possible that he had discussed Canada with Frederick Keppel who many years previously had left the Province of Quebec to establish himself as a book seller in New York. By the early 1870s the buying and selling of prints, which had started as a sideline, became Keppel's major business.¹⁰ Wickenden's decision was probably more directly inspired by the friendship established with an older gentleman travelling with his two daughters on one of his Atlantic crossings.¹¹

This Quebec City contact was combined with advice from his brother Tom in Toledo who wrote that portraits were probably the best way out of the mess.¹²

After a voyage that included stops in Detroit and Toledo, Wickenden arrived in Quebec City during September 1896.¹³ In early November, sufficient space was made available to him at Quebec's new city hall¹⁴ for an exhibition of 51 works - 21 oil paintings, 17 watercolours, and 16 lithographs.¹⁵ Such exhibitions could not have been a regular occurrence in Quebec City at this time, for a local journalist began her review of Wickenden's work with the following statement.

Les Québécois viennent d'être gratifiés d'une exposition de peinture. Ce n'est pas souvent qu'ici nous ayons pareille aubaine; aussi, la foule sympathique qui, pendant huit jours, a défilé devant la riche collection, n'a pas ménagé à l'auteur devant les expressions d'une intelligente admiration.¹⁶

Wickenden's selection of works, similar to his previous one-man exhibitions in American cities, was designed to demonstrate not just his facility in the three different media but also to reflect his ability to handle a wide variety of subject matter. Not surprisingly for an artist intent on obtaining portrait commissions, he exhibited ten portraits nearly all of which reflected his links with the established art world - Philip Gilbert Hamerton, Frederick Keppel, and members of the Daubigny family circle. He included his prize-winning lithographs and offered them for sale at \$10.00 a proof. Genre scenes, and landscapes executed in France and also, in and around Quebec City completed the selection.

One oil painting, entitled Bois-Brillant depicting the home of Siméon Lesage at Sainte-Foy, was listed in the catalogue as the property of M. Lesage. This is an indication that Wickenden had already found a patron. As their later correspondence and Lesage's writings reveal, the relationship between the two men went beyond a business nature and was based on a mutual enjoyment of each other's company. Lesage gives us some idea of Wickenden's working arrangement in Quebec - both on this occasion and on his many subsequent visits. He would take up residence in the Château Frontenac, then the best hotel in town, thus putting himself on a par socially with those most likely to purchase his finished works or to offer him commissions for portraits or landscapes. Other long-term guests might include politicians from outside Quebec City who stayed at the Château during the National Assembly sessions.¹⁷ His hotel room would become an "atelier provisoire"¹⁸ where he would work and receive visitors like Lesage.

From the beginning, it seems that Wickenden succeeded in gaining both the patronage and the friendship of a number of Quebec residents with the means to enjoy amenities like private clubs and intellectual interests that embraced art, history and literature. Many, like Lesage, James Lemoine and G. M. Fairchild Jr., published their own writings or like Frank Carrel published a newspaper and guide to Quebec. The works executed in Quebec that Wickenden exhibited in this first showing reveal that he had already been a guest at the private fishing club of these men - the Ouatichouan Fishing and Shooting Club on Lac Bouchette.¹⁹ Some of the works

exhibited were purchased by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, Sir Adolphe Chapleau.²⁰

The exhibition was a great success for Wickenden. His son recalled that:

He was simply lionized. The press, the high officials, the clergy, and the aristocratic society of the city and province vied with each other to invite him, to entertain him and last but not least, to buy his works.²¹

The press notice bears out this testimony.

Le nom de Wickenden se recommande de lui-même, on ne saurait donc me reprocher de faire de la réclame, ce qui met à l'aise pour parler de ses oeuvres, dont la plupart, d'ailleurs ont eu les honneurs du Salon, à Paris.

M. Robert J. Wickenden est artiste dans la plus belle acception du mot, et artiste délicat. Rien de cru ou de trop léché dans son travail; il sait garder aux choses leur note juste, tout en les poétisant.²²

Wickenden did manage to embark on his project to execute portrait commissions of Quebec society. The first to gain public notice was a portrait of the Rev. Abbé H.R. Casgrain (Musée du Séminaire de Québec) in early December 1896. The commission appears to have come from the nuns responsible for the Asile du Bon Pasteur, the Congrégation des Servantes du Coeur Immaculé de Marie in Quebec City.²³ Wickenden could not have asked for better press reaction to this commission. The Morning Chronicle, referring to Wickenden as a "Parisian artist", called the picture "a splendid

specimen in oils" and praised its likeness to the sitter.²⁴ The French press was equally complimentary.

C'est une oeuvre au-dessus de tous éloges. Ceux qui en ont confié l'exécution au peintre distingué, de passage à Québec, ont fait preuve d'un grand tact et d'une parfaite connaissance de l'art. Nul n'aurait su comme lui, sans doute, rendre l'expression bienveillante et noble du savant prêtre que tous connaissent, sinon personnellement, du moins par sa haute réputation.

Derrière le verre transparent de ses lunettes son regard calme et pénétrant semble vous interroger et, dans l'ensemble il y a une telle apparence de vie que, devant ce bout de toile, je me suis surpris devenant timide et tenté de m'incliner respectueux comme devant le vénérable original lui-même.²⁵

The oil painting of Abbé Casgrain was a fortuitous first commission for an artist looking to execute a series of portraits of notable figures in Quebec. Casgrain was apparently a keen amateur of art whose opinion on artistic matters held some weight in Quebec City.²⁶ The two men got on extremely well and "spent hours discussing art, literature, music, philosophy...and religion" in the abbé's apartment.²⁷ Based on the impression Wickenden's portrait of Philip Gilbert Hamerton made on certain Quebec circles, Casgrain predicted that a commission to paint the portrait of the Mayor of Quebec, the Honourable Simon-Napoléon Parent, would be forthcoming²⁸, and it was before the year was out.²⁹

A comparison of the lithograph of the Parent portrait (Cat. 23) with the lithographs of members of the Daubigny circle or that of

Philip Gilbert Hamerton provides a number of startling contrasts. The earlier lithographs portray individuals. Line and shading are used delicately and with sensitivity to portray the individuality of the sitter. The figure stands on its own without accoutrements, identifying symbols, or background setting. In contrast, the lithograph of Parent portrays not the man as an individual, but rather the man as representative of his elected office. He stands in his robes on a podium in front of his official chair. Above the chair is the Seal of the City of Quebec and to his right, a scroll bearing names connected with city hall awkwardly unrolls to the viewer. The upper right portion of the lithograph reveals Wickenden's borrowing from the grand tradition of portraiture. A curtain is pulled back to reveal a view of the new Quebec City Hall, built during Parent's tenure in office.³⁰

The total effect of the Parent lithograph is stiff and unnatural, perhaps even pretentious in its use of compositional devices previously reserved for grandiose, official portraits of ruling sovereigns. To what extent the result was Wickenden's choice or dictated by the terms of the commission cannot be determined. The fact, however, that he repeated the compositional formulae in subsequent portrait commissions of church clergy reveals that this type of outmoded presentation was not only accepted at the time in Quebec City but also desired. Its repetition also contrasts with the style he adopted for his landscape paintings. Increasingly as his career advanced, Wickenden's landscape paintings revealed the hand of the artist. The smooth, academic finish gave way to visible signs of the brushstroke. Although he always continued to apply paint in

thin layers, building up the image over transparent, tinted washes, the process of painting (brushstrokes, layering of paint) is restrained but still readily visible in middle to late work compared with early work.

What, in fact, is seen in the Parent and some of the other Quebec commissions is an artist influenced in part by circumstances of the marketplace to appeal to a less sophisticated art market than Paris. On the other hand, Wickenden is revealing, albeit more strongly than in the past, tendencies that were already inherent in his oeuvre. Prior to coming to Quebec, he had shown his willingness to tackle a wide variety of subjects, to experiment with different media, all the while displaying a marked dependence on the styles of previous schools. Because he avoided carving out a narrow and clearly defined niche in the art world, Wickenden could be termed an artist of the juste-milieu. He steered a course aimed at pleasing a heterogeneous public and creating an art that was immediately intelligible.³¹

That winter of 1896-1897, Wickenden continued to work on portrait commissions. Among them, was the portrait of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Quebec, Sir Adolphe Chapleau, K.C.M.G. (Cat. 24). In this instance, Wickenden did not work in his temporary studio at the Château Frontenac, but rather was picked up by sleigh and taken to Chapleau's official residence.³² The lithograph of this portrait is more successful than the Parent print. Attention is focussed on the three-quarter length figure and there is a more animated quality in the rendering of the head and body. The symbols associating Chapleau with his office - the small

table to his left covered with a fleur-de-lys motif tablecloth, the crest in the upper right corner, and the medal hanging from a ribbon at the neck - are more naturally integrated into the composition. As a whole, the composition is less fussy and the focus on the figure integrates more successfully the portrayal of Chapleau the man and Chapleau a government figure.

Another commission from this period was the portrait of Monsignor Cyrille-Alfred Marois.³³ The daily journal of the Séminaire recorded that "Le Chronicle d'hier fait un pompeux éloge de Mgr. Marois, à propos du portrait de Wickenden. Il décrit en détail la pose de l'illustre prélat."³⁴ This and other subsequent portrait commissions from within the Roman Catholic Church hierarchy illustrate Wickenden's ever-widening circle of patrons. From the early contact with Abbé Casgrain at the Séminaire de Québec and the successful reception of each subsequent commission, Wickenden was able to gain a significant amount of patronage in the Quebec City community.

On April 5, 1897, a second exhibition of Wickenden's art opened at the Quebec City Hall. It included all the portraits and some other work completed since his arrival the previous September.³⁵ Little is known of this exhibition, either the exact details of its contents or its reception. At the end of the month, Wickenden left Quebec travelling to Montreal and on to Detroit where he sold three works.³⁶ In early May he sailed from New York aboard the S. S. Westmoreland and returned to his family at Auvers.

During his Quebec stay, Wickenden appears to have maintained some contact with the international art world. That winter of 1896-

97, M. H. Spielmann had written a series of articles on original lithography for the British art journal, The Magazine of Art.³⁷ He mentions receiving from Wickenden "a letter full of enthusiasm" reminding him that lithography, unlike etching, allows the artist to see the full effect as the work progresses for "the tone, like the line, is always under the artist's control, as it is under his eye"³⁸, whether the artist is working directly on the stone or on transfer paper. He also credits Wickenden with considerable talent as a lithographer.

The American interest [in lithography] is mainly sustained by Mr. R. J. Wickenden, for Mr. Whistler, in his lithographic work, has so completely identified himself with the English share in the renaissance that he is not to be considered away from it. Nor is it certain that Mr. Wickenden should be classed, even by courtesy, with the Americans; for he was born in England, and, although educated in the States, since 1883 has made his home in France. There is no one more likely to achieve a great reputation through a fine poetic manipulation of the stone than he, for there is no class of subject broadly considered that he has not undertaken, and all of them he has adorned.³⁹

His friends in the painting-lithography community of Paris had also not forgotten him in his absence. On his return a letter from Henry Hamel, Editor of La Revue des Beaux-Arts, invited Wickenden to join a new association of painter-lithographers.

Enfin! Vous voilà! J'ai tant à vous dire. Nous avons fondé la Société des Peintres-Lithographes avec Fantin-Latour, Dillon, Fuchs, Fauchon, Alleaume, Bahuel, Gottlob, Dubois-Menant, Leandre, J. Weber, Robida, Cheret, etc., tous les bons.

Je suis chargé de vous inviter à un dîner qui aura lieu mercredi 23 à 7 heures, 81 rue Richelieu, Salle Bernard. Nous serons tous heureux de vous voir.⁴⁰

Wickenden did indeed accept Hamel's invitation to join the new society which embraced only artist-printmakers in its ranks in contrast to the earlier Société des artistes lithographes français which had included artisan-printmakers as well. He used the fact of his membership in both societies in subsequent advertising or resumés of his career as an important element confirming his credentials as a master-lithographer.

It is speculative but reasonable to suppose that Wickenden's prime purpose in this return to Europe was the printing of the Parent and Chapleau lithographs. The facilities for printing fine art lithographs available in Quebec were obviously not satisfactory to the artist for he also returned to Europe the following year for the printing of the lithographs of Taschereau and Bégin.⁴¹ If the facilities were not acceptable in 1898, it is logical to conclude that they were equally unsatisfactory to the artist in 1897. As most of Wickenden's lithographs were executed using the transfer paper process, he could easily have travelled from Quebec with the image executed there on the light tissue, and then transferred the image to the heavy lithographic stones at his studio at Auvers or at the printer's shop.

Wickenden spent scarcely two months in Auvers for by early July 1897 he set forth again for Quebec City, this time travelling through Antwerp, The Hague and Amsterdam visiting

museums in each of the cities.⁴² Once in Quebec again, he tried in earnest to sell his newly-printed 100-proof edition of Chapleau's portrait. A pamphlet advertising the lithograph explained that at the exhibition of the Chapleau oil portrait (April 1897), "les nombreux amis du Lieutenant-Gouverneur ont exprimé le désir qu'une ressemblance si frappante du grand orateur et homme d'Etat, fut mise à leur portée sous forme de gravure".⁴³ This the artist had promised to do. The pamphlet also included a résumé of Wickenden's experience as an artist-printmaker.

M. R. J. Wickenden, comme beaucoup de peintres anciens s'occupe lui-même de la gravure et a une place marquée dans la Renaissance actuelle de la lithographie artistique à Paris. Ses oeuvres ont eu la place d'honneur dans la Section Britannique⁴⁴ du Centenaire de la Lithographie à Paris, en 1895, recevant un diplôme et les éloges des critiques les plus compétents.

Recompensé aussi au Salon, il est membre de la nouvelle Société des Peintres-Lithographes de Paris et de la Société des Artistes Lithographes Français.

The proofs, signed by both Wickenden and Chapleau, were available at \$10.00 each from Louis Morency, 171 rue St. Jean, Haute-Ville. Morency, it was advertised, would also look after framing the prints.⁴⁵

To supplement the pamphlet advertising the Chapleau lithograph, the original oil painting and lithograph of Chapleau were displayed together in the windows of Morency's shop. There, they attracted the attention of the press.⁴⁶ Although Wickenden had

spent only some eight months in Quebec City, the reporter wrote that the style of "the well-known Parisian⁴⁷ portrait painter, Mr. Robert J. Wickenden" was already readily identifiable. About twenty lithographs, signed by both Chapleau and Wickenden, had been placed with Louis Morency for sale "at a very low figure". Other copies of the edition of 100 proofs had been sent to other Canadian cities "where such a souvenir of the great French-Canadian statesmen will be universally prized". The article ended with a tribute to Wickenden's ability.

In every way the work is worthy of the man who has with so much talent executed it, showing as it does all that fidelity and correctness which his former work guarantees.⁴⁸

Circumstances had changed, however, between the exhibition of the oil painting of Chapleau and the sale of the lithographs. Demand for the Chapleau lithograph, representing as it did an elder statesman of the Conservative party, had been weakened by the party's defeat in 1896 by Wilfrid Laurier. It was not just the changed political climate, however, that adversely affected Wickenden's prospects on this second trip to Quebec City. The novelty of his presence in the city was wearing off and the limited business to be had in Quebec⁴⁹ was not exhausted, but certainly dwindling.⁵⁰ Furthermore, the expense of his extended stay at the Château Frontenac was high. And yet, this venue was necessary for the artist to make contact with the kind of people who would buy his paintings and give him commissions.

Wickenden was, however, apparently still in favour over local artists for secular commissions⁵¹ from the Roman Catholic church, particularly that element with ties to the Séminaire de Québec. Early in 1898 he received a commission to paint an oil portrait of the Most Reverend Louis-Nazaire Bégin (Musée du Séminaire de Québec). Appointed Archbishop of Quebec in April 1898, Bégin received the portrait as a gift or tribute from the clergy of the diocese at the time of his induction into office.⁵² At dimensions of 8' x 5' it was a sizeable commission, but the fee of \$300.00 was low for the time and expense involved in producing such a large canvas.⁵³

In the lithographic version of the Bégin portrait (Cat. 26), Wickenden adopts in reverse the compositional devices he had used in the Parent lithograph. The right (as opposed to Parent's left) arm is bent across the full-length figure in religious dress. In this hand, Bégin holds the first encyclical "affari vos" directed to the Canadian Roman Catholic Church while the left hand rests on a table. Here a small crucifix rests among a few books. On the wall behind is a small religious statue in a niche. Simple drapery completes the background. The result is a very formal, official portrait of the archbishop that reveals very little of the sitter's personality as an individual.

Another commission obtained during this trip to Quebec was the portrait of Cardinal Elzéar-Alexandre Taschereau, begun just a few weeks before the cleric's death, April 12, 1898. Taschereau's appointment to the position of cardinal, the first ever among the Canadian clergy, in June 1886 by Pope Leo XIII "gave him unequalled prestige throughout the country".⁵⁴ Throughout his

career, Taschereau had exerted not just religious, but also considerable political, influence in the Province of Quebec. At his death, the artist was allowed to take a death mask⁵⁵ and casts of the hands to help him in finishing the commission - again executed in two media, oil (Musée du Séminaire de Québec) and lithograph (Cat. 27).

Before the lithographs of the Bégin and Taschereau portraits were printed, a pamphlet was issued by the Secrétariat de l'Archevêque at Quebec soliciting orders from the general public. Like the previous pamphlet advertising the Chapleau lithograph, it began with a brief introduction of the sitters and, especially, of the artist including his memberships in French art societies and Salon awards. It stated that the two oil portraits had been approved and admired in the salons of the Palais Archiépiscope de Québec by archbishops, bishops and other clergy. It further stressed the kindness of the artist to undertake the preparation of these lithographs so everyone might have access to such fine work.

Il [Wickenden] a consenti à entreprendre la reproduction de ces propres oeuvres, qui, tout en étant aussi très fidèles aux portraits peints sur toile, auront, en plus, le cachet des oeuvres d'art originales, sortant directement du crayon de l'artiste. Ces reproductions seront exécutées dans le plus haut style de l'art et imprimées par les premiers imprimeurs du monde, à Paris.⁵⁶

The first 100 proofs were to be de luxe quality, hand printed on Japanese paper, numbered, and with *remarque*, a profile of Taschereau on the left side of the bottom margin. The following 400

copies were to be printed with title on papier de chine collé without remarque. The price for the former was \$5.00, and for the latter, \$2.50. In other words, this was a very large printing.

The lithographs of Bégin and Taschereau had detractors as well as admirers.

Les gravures des portraits de Son Eminence et de Mgr Bégin, faites par Wickenden et pour lesquelles on avait pris des souscriptions, sont arrivées. Ce sont deux pauvretés. Elles étaient exposées au salon de l'archevêché aujourd'hui. Comme ressemblance, absolument déplorable. Comme eau-forte, ça n'a pas l'air de dépasser le petit ordinaire. Les messieurs sont engagés à donner cinq piastres pour chacune sont décontenancés. Ces deux pièces n'augmenteront guère l'opinion qu'on avait de l'artiste protestant qui en est l'auteur.⁵⁷

By now, the effect of Wickenden's geographical move from France to Quebec City on the position of lithographs in his total production has clearly emerged. The artist was no longer producing lithographs meant to stand on their own as independent works of art as envisioned by the French spokesmen and artists active in the renaissance in lithography. It now seems that lithography was being used as an advertising handmaiden to portrait commissions in the public sector. What is not clear, is whether the impetus for this shift in tactics came from the artist himself intent on reaching a wider public and thus, increasing the financial return on each commission, or whether it came from the Quebec Roman Catholic church hierarchy interested in promulgating its image as a ruling power to its public.

It cannot be denied that these portraits by Wickenden evoke a long, historical tradition of portrait imagery - imagery intended to convey the trappings of power and the ceremonial grandeur of public office, whether secular or religious. Historically from the early days of the French regime, the Récollets and Jesuits in Quebec had used art as an integral part of their religious message. This was evident in the missionaries use of the imagery of prints in their efforts during the seventeenth century to convert the Indians to Christianity.⁵⁸ It was also true of the many commissions for murals and sculpture to decorate the churches and to convey the message of Christianity to the people. An edition of 500 proofs as in the Bégin and Taschereau lithographs, indicates that the images were intended to be widely distributed to the people. Their simultaneous publication and marketing in the single pamphlet was perhaps also intended to stress the continuity of office from Taschereau to Bégin. In many ways, the attempts to sell the prints of the clergy resembles the marketing of contemporary souvenirs of the British royal family. Both are designed to give the people a tangible memento of the aura of a public figure in power.

In May 1898, presumably with some orders for the Bégin and Taschereau lithographs in hand, Wickenden left Quebec City for Montreal where he left some prints for sale.⁵⁹ Unfortunately, it is not known what prints (his own or some by other artists) and with what dealer he made these arrangements, nor what sales were made.⁶⁰ By June, he was again in Auvers⁶¹, busy in his own studio and looking after the printing of the lithographs begun in Quebec.

Three months later, Wickenden again left his family to return to Quebec.⁶²

At the end of January 1899, Wickenden held an one-man exhibition of his work at the Château Frontenac.⁶³ The exhibition catalogue reveals the now familiar mix of media - 19 oil paintings, 15 watercolours, and 15 lithographs. Most of the oils and watercolours were new work, not previously exhibited including three portraits owned by the subjects - G. M. Fairchild Jr., John Brown, and Madame F. E. Roy.⁶⁴ While many of the oils were French landscape scenes (as the titles indicated), the watercolours were nearly all Quebec views. The listing of lithographs gives some idea of Wickenden's success in selling this type of work. The catalogue said that only a few copies remained of the Taschereau and Chapleau portraits, six of the Bégin portrait, and five of the Parent portrait. Many of his earlier lithographs - although printed in editions of forty to fifty proofs - were still available; namely, Notre-Dame de Paris, An Arcadian Shepherdess, The Return of the Flock, The Harvest Moon, La Mère Panneçaye, Le Père Jorelle, L'Approche du Soir, Philip Gilbert Hamerton, La Fileuse, and Pastorale. Most were listed at \$10.00 per proof, a few at \$5.00, and some with no price, perhaps an indication that the edition was sold out.

In The Quebec Chronicle review, the writer's focussed on the oils and watercolours, and most particularly on the portraits. Only brief mention was made of the lithographs.

Of Mr. Wickenden's auto-lithographs, space does not permit an extended notice, but his "Notre-Dame de Paris" is a notable bit of black and white with all the subtle feeling of night

in it. The portraits of Cardinal Taschereau and of Archbishop Bégin in the same process are after the paintings by Mr. Wickenden and now in the Archbishop's Palace.⁶⁵

One new lithograph By the Aegean Sea (Cat. 28), an edition of 25 proofs at \$10.00 each, was after an oil painting of the same name, also in the exhibition. The oil at \$500.00 was the most expensive work listed in the catalogue. This print is strongly reminiscent of the lithograph Twilight in Arcadia/Le Crépuscule of 1895 as it uses the same model in antique dress with a lyre. In this version, she is walking followed by her flock of sheep whereas in the earlier version she is depicted seated with the sheep lying at her feet. In the background is the flat expanse of sea, intended to evoke a classical setting.

At this time, plans were apparently underway in Quebec for the province to make a strong showing in an international exposition in Paris.⁶⁶ For his submission, Wickenden chose to prepare two major works in oil - Le Défricheur Canadien/The Canadian Woodsman (Fig. 2, Musée du Québec) and Le Voyageur Canadien. As the titles indicate, the imagery was drawn from the rural tradition of pioneer life in Canada. Le Défricheur Canadien in particular was an attempt to present a Canadian version of the nineteenth-century Barbizon tradition, and most specifically, of Millet's monumental imagery of rural figures at work.⁶⁷ The heroic quality of this genre scene is on a scale that had not previously been present in Canadian art. After making preliminary sketches for this large-scale canvas (and subsequent lithographic version, Cat. 29), Wickenden decided that he must return to Paris to execute the two works for reasons of

economy, the availability of experienced models, and to satisfy his need for the stimulating company of other artists.⁶⁸ Accordingly, he sailed from New York City in March 1899.⁶⁹

For the next year, the artist resided at Auvers and divided his working time between the studio in his own house and his rented studio in Paris. After an absence of several years, he again exhibited in France. The lithograph By the Aegean Sea (Cat. 28) was accepted at the Paris Salon. This lithograph and also that of Sir Adolphe Chapleau, Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec, were shown in May at another large Parisian exhibition.⁷⁰ At the same time, Wickenden kept his name before the Canadian public for he had three works in the annual exhibition of the Royal Canadian Academy.⁷¹

Much of the summer and fall was occupied with a commission from an American corset manufacturer, Mr. Lacem, for a copy of Bertrand's ceiling mural in the Paris Hôtel de Ville, Hymne à la terre⁷², as well as other commissions from American patrons and sales to visitors to his studio.⁷³ In the fall and winter, the artist had an Italian model posing in his Paris studio for Le Défricheur Canadien. Throughout this time, letters kept arriving from the Roman Catholic clergy in Quebec including Abbé Casgrain.⁷⁴ News also came from American artist friends who said that business was good.⁷⁵

While Wickenden was finishing Le Défricheur Canadien, he was also putting in motion plans to move his family to Canada after the opening of the Exposition Universelle in Paris.⁷⁶ Letters in March 1900 to Canadian government officials from Wickenden and supportive Quebec friends successfully sought admission for Le Défricheur Canadien and Le Voyageur Canadien to the Canadian

section of the Exposition. Their request for inclusion was based in part on the artist's intention to emigrate with his family to Canada.⁷⁷ Wickenden also participated in a group exhibition in Paris in early April⁷⁸ and showed four of his Quebec works at the Paris Salon. Le Défricheur Canadien, Le Voyageur Canadien (both oils), and two lithographs (the Chapleau and Taschereau portraits) proved to be Wickenden's final submissions to the Salon.

Finished works from his studio were placed with the Paris dealer, A. Cousins who had come to his rescue with sales following his bankruptcy in 1896.⁷⁹ To advertise the sale of his Auvers house by public auction, Wickenden put up posters each illustrated with an original lithograph. In no time, the villagers had removed the original lithographs leaving each poster with a gaping hole.⁸⁰ Early in May 1900, the Wickenden family, Robert and Ada with their five children, sailed for Canada.

The Wickendens opted to settle in Montreal rather than Quebec City.⁸¹ Montreal was a larger, more cosmopolitan center and in the artist's eyes probably seemed to offer more possibilities for sales and commissions. Montreal also offered more of an institutional infrastructure specifically directed to nurturing and supporting⁸² original art production - the Art Association of Montreal and its annual exhibitions, the Ecole des Arts et Manufactures, the Pen and Pencil Club⁸³ - and more private collectors of substance. It should not be inferred that Wickenden's work was unappreciated in Quebec, but rather that he had exhausted the market to the extent that it could provide him with an adequate income to support his family. In fact, the esteem in which he was held is reflected in the following

description of the "grand salon" in the Palais Archiéiscopal published in 1900.

Les trois derniers grands portraits qui figurent dans cette galerie sont ceux du cardinal Taschereau, de Mgr. l'archevêque Bégin, et de Mgr. Marois. Ce sont vraiment des oeuvres d'art dues au pinceau de M. Wickenden. Tous trois sont vivants, et d'une ressemblance parfaite. Le coloris est riche, mais n'a rien exagéré. Il n'y a rien de heurté dans les compositions de cet artiste. Toutes ses couleurs sont fondues harmonieusement. Il a le secret d'idéaliser ses figures, tout en gardant le sentiment du vrai, et il imprime dans leurs physionomies la vie physique et intellectuelle.⁸⁴

Wickenden did not, however, in the years to come ever neglect the Quebec City market. For example, he held his first exhibition after emigrating⁸⁵ in his own studio in the Y.M.C.A. building on Dominion Square in Montreal, followed in January 1901 by another major one-man exhibition at the Château Frontenac in Quebec.⁸⁶ Of the 29 works exhibited, just three were prints - the lithograph portraits of Chapleau and Taschereau and By the Aegean Sea - about his usual proportion of prints to paintings. Similarly, the critics directed most of their attention to the paintings, particularly the two canvases from the 1900 Paris Exposition Universelle - Le Défricheur Canadien and Le Voyageur Canadien.⁸⁷ Only brief mention was made of the prints. The Daily Telegraph characterized the lithographs as "splendid" and urged viewers to make the effort to see them.⁸⁸ The review in the French press placed particular emphasis on the appreciative reception of Wickenden's work by the residents of

Quebec. He mentioned that his first exhibition four years ago "avaient agréablement fixé l'attention de notre petit monde artistique".⁸⁹ The article ended with a warm welcome to the artist.

M. Wickenden n'est plus, un étranger parmi nous, il s'est tellement épris de notre pays qu'il est devenu tout à fait canadien, et est depuis 8 mois établis à Montréal avec sa famille. Il avait donc parfaitement droit de figurer dans le pavillon Canadien à l'exposition de Paris. Rien de plus canadien que ses deux tableaux. Nous saisissons cette occasion de souhaiter que quelque tardivement une cordiale bienvenue à notre nouveau compatriote.

It was probably a combination of the warm appreciation felt by Quebecers towards Wickenden and the artist's skill in lithography that prompted a commission from Frank Carrel, publisher of The Daily Telegraph. He asked the artist to execute a painting of the harbour of Quebec as seen from the terrace of the Governor-General's residence on the citadel. From the oil, a chromolithograph (Cat. 30) printed in 10 colours was produced and offered to the newspaper's readers to commemorate the visit of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York.⁹⁰ It was sold through advertisements in the newspaper, not through an art dealer per se.⁹¹ In the tradition of the British topographers, this lithograph records rather than interprets the view of the St. Lawrence from the Quebec citadel. The sailing ships on the river, for example, convey no sense of movement but are simply recorded in all their details and positioned on the water.

Only two other lithographs - both portraits and both after oil paintings - date from Wickenden's Montreal period. The first,

Portrait of Sir James McPherson Lemoine⁹² of 1902 (Cat. 31), was another Quebec City commission. The oil version was a gift to Lemoine to recognize his services to Canada from his friends.⁹³ The organizers were G. M. Fairchild, an early Quebec patron and friend of Wickenden, Commodore Gregory and E. T. D. Chambers. A writer from Le Soleil was particularly complimentary in describing the Lemoine portrait.

Ce portrait est dû à l'habile pinceau de notre artiste si connu à Québec, M. Wickenden. Je connais la plupart de ceux qu'il a faits ici, particulièrement celui de l'honorable M. Chapleau, le mieux réussi de tous, à mon avis. Or je ne crains pas d'affirmer que le portrait de sir James rivalise en fait de fini et de ressemblance, avec cette toile magnifique.

C'est un portrait-buste représentant le Nestor de nos écrivains, adossé à sa bibliothèque, dans l'attitude pensive d'un auteur qui compose un ouvrage. On ne peut se lasser d'admirer ce tableau où les moindres détails sont achevés avec un art exquis. Pour me servir d'une expression en vogue dans les ateliers des peintres, je dirai que "cela rince l'oeil", tant c'est idéalement vrai.⁹⁴

It is not known if the lithograph of the Lemoine portrait was also a commission or whether it was speculative on the artist's part. As a portrait, it is more successful than the prints of Quebec clergy. Although certain fussy details, like the author's crest in the upper right hand corner and papers on the desk detract from the figure, the artist has focussed more sympathetically on the person of Lemoine. His face is rendered with sensitivity conveying an impression of a kindly, gentle man. There is, however, some awkwardness, in the

relation of the head to the torso. The adaptability of the lithographic medium to depict shades of dark tones has been used to advantage.

Some idea of the means of distribution of a print such as the Lemoine portrait can be derived from a letter from G. M. Fairchild.

I am still chasing one or two delinquents and I'll bring 'em to book yet. The enclosed letter from Sir Henri Joly⁹⁵ speaks for itself. I replied to him that we would be glad of his subscription, and, anticipating it, I am mailing him my black and white which I am going to ask you to replace with a sepia.

The package of prints is now in Sir James' hands for signature and your wishes regarding them will be carried out. Sir James has paid me \$10. for his 5 copies, and he is to let me know whether he wants more...

I have spoken to Sir James about the list of names of friends who might like a print and he promises to give me one as soon as these social days are over.⁹⁶

This letter gives no impression that at this period a dealer was in the wings promoting and selling the work of Wickenden thus leaving him free to concentrate on production. It fell upon the artist and the kindness of friends to effect sales - no doubt, a long, slow and time-consuming process.

The other lithograph executed during Wickenden's Montreal period was a Portrait of Dr. John George Adami (Cat. 32), a Professor of Pathology at McGill University. Again, the artist made both an oil and print version of the portrait. In style, it relates more closely to the earlier lithographic portraits of the Daubigny family and la Mère Panneçaye. Concentrating only on the head and shoulders, the artist

has not hardened his line and composition to achieve an "official" portrait. The soft, grainy texture of the shading and the more relaxed use of line result in a more natural, sensitive portrait like his work of the early 1890s.

There is no record, apart from the evidence of the art works themselves, to indicate whether Wickenden's diminishing lithographic production at this time was due to his own waning personal interest in the medium, to a lack of printing facilities for fine art printing, to a lack of stimulus from other artists using lithography, to a lack of customer demand, or to the realities of insufficient monetary rewards for the time and effort required to produce a print edition. His declining print production does, however, reflect wider trends in the art world as a whole.

In all the print media, a notable number of American artists in the last three decades of the nineteenth century had sought to enter the mainstream of printmaking as exemplified by the European artist-printmaker.⁹⁷ They sought, like Wickenden, to be part of the renewal of the vigour of these media as a means of original expression. As the turn of the century passed, the initiative and vitality of American printmaking waned as artists focussed more exclusively on painting.⁹⁸ Similarly in European art circles, lithography once again went into decline after 1900 despite the outstanding works by Secession artists and the efforts of critics like Roger Marx, Mellerio and Bouchot.⁹⁹

It is fair to say that the effort to sustain the art of lithography in North America, as in Europe, came as much or even more from critics and curators as from the artists themselves. Frank

Weitenkampf, Curator of Prints at the New York Public Library, in a 1903 article cited the sporadic efforts of a few artists like Wickenden, Sargent and others¹⁰⁰ in the field of lithography and he urged others to try their hand. He appealed more directly to Wickenden to continue lithography in a 1905 letter thanking him for a drawing on transfer paper intended for The Bookman¹⁰¹ (Cat. 33, Portrait of a Curator).

I trust I may see a litho drawing by you at the next show of the Water Color Society. Etching is "looking up"; why not lithography, that delightful medium? And why not you to start the ball rolling?¹⁰²

There is no evidence that Wickenden took up the challenge.

If Wickenden was no longer actively producing lithographs, what was he doing to further his career, and more specifically, how did his activities in Montreal relate to prints? In terms of art production, apart from prints, Wickenden was busy. During the Montreal period, he had nearly twenty portrait commissions for which some form of documentation survives. There were doubtless others. The account books have not survived for all the years he was active and for some years, there is a scarcity of letters out of character with the prolific correspondence Wickenden maintained throughout his career to keep in touch with patrons and artist-friends spread out in many different cities. He continued to expand the geographical area of his market - holding, for example, a solo exhibition for the first time in Ottawa at the galleries of James Wilson & Co. in April 1902.¹⁰³ Continually cultivating the Quebec City

market, Wickenden returned there frequently to paint both commissioned and speculative canvases and panels, often combining work with camping and fishing trips with friends. The solo exhibitions there¹⁰⁴ as elsewhere reveal a mix of oils and watercolours, covering the gamut of subject matter from landscapes to portraits, a few attempts at genre, and the occasional piece with literary overtones. He participated in institutional group shows like the annual Spring Exhibitions of the Art Association of Montreal and the Royal Canadian Academy. Although some European subjects were shown, the titles increasingly indicated the shift to the North American milieu. He ranged quite widely through the countryside of Quebec - the Laurentians north of Montreal, scenes in Montreal, rural areas to the north and east of Quebec City as far as Lac St.-Jean - and parts of Maine.

His art activity also embraced collection evaluation and restoration work. His early ties with the Séminaire de Québec, among the first art collectors in North America, brought a request in the fall of 1902 to evaluate the 1901 gift of the Marois collection.¹⁰⁵ Among the paintings and prints in the gift was the oil portrait of Cardinal Taschereau by Wickenden.¹⁰⁶ Wickenden assessed the collection with another artist by the name of Raab who did some restoration and cataloguing work for the Seminary in the fall of 1901.¹⁰⁷ Wickenden's own restoration work was for Henry Morgan & Co., the Montreal department store whose operations at the time included an art gallery. Entries in his account book for March and April 1905 indicate that he had several jobs cleaning, restoring and relining oil paintings, and also tinting photographs.¹⁰⁸

Along with art production itself, Wickenden's relocation to Montreal brought anew the need to find new patrons, while not losing contact with patrons already gained in other cities. One method that he adopted was to take out a membership in the Art Association of Montreal.¹⁰⁹ This enabled him to participate in members' activities, such as the Annual Meeting in December 1900, just six months after his arrival in Montreal. There he had the opportunity to meet prominent Montreal collectors interested not just in promoting art in the city but also in purchasing art for their own collections. At this meeting, Wickenden would have been able to meet W. J. Learmont, E. S. Clouston, R. B. Angus, C. E. L. Porteous, Vincent Meredith, and Sir William Van Horne among others.¹¹⁰

It was with Sir William Van Horne and his family that the artist developed the most intimate and long-lasting relationship, a fact documented by several writers including Albert Laberge.

Pendant son séjour à Montréal, Robert Wickenden se fit de nombreux amis qui lui sont restés attachés jusqu'à la fin. Sir William Van Horne, qui possédait l'une des plus belles collections de tableaux à Montréal et qui affectionnait fort le peintre, était toujours heureux d'avoir son opinion sur ses nouvelles acquisitions, car Robert Wickenden était non seulement un peintre estimable, mais c'était aussi un expert, possédant des connaissances très étendues sur la peinture, tant ancienne que moderne. Son avis, son opinion étaient hautement prisés.¹¹¹

The two men often painted together and Wickenden once said that "Sir William...wanted to paint by telegraph", in reference to the latter's speedy execution.¹¹² Along with the production of art, the

pleasure and stimulation of discussing art also brought the two men together. For example, a note from Van Horne included the following postscript: "I am going to NY tomorrow night but shall be back next Sunday and hope you will drop in then - in the morning if as convenient as any time."¹¹³ Wickenden, himself, gave some insight into the nature of the conversations between the collector and the artist in the following introduction to one of his articles on Daubigny.

Happening to be in Montreal one evening some years ago when the late Professor Fenollosa was giving a lecture there on Japanese Art, we spent the following day with Sir William Van Horne and later travelled together to New York. The tedium of the journey was relieved by discussing the relative merits of Oriental and Occidental art, and among other subjects, the question of heredity as an important factor in the art of old Japan.¹¹⁴

Van Horne and Wickenden's relationship, however, went beyond just discussing art. One piece of tangible evidence is the Portrait of Sir William Van Horne (Fig. 3, Canadian Railway Museum, St.-Constant, Québec) painted by the artist in 1906.¹¹⁵ The importance of this commission for Wickenden was underlined by his friend, G. M. Fairchild. "I am glad that you have at last pinned Sir William Van Horne to some sittings for a portrait. If it is a success it will give you reputation and send off in New York."¹¹⁶ Fairchild wrote again in a similar vein as the artist was settling his family into their new home in Bethel, Connecticut in the spring of 1906.¹¹⁷

Wickenden was also the source of eighteen additions to Van Horne's art collection during this Montreal period. A list dated

November 20, 1905¹¹⁸ indicates that the works in question were paintings and studies, mostly by artists of the Barbizon school such as the artist had been selling in the 1890s. Given their prices, they cannot be considered either major works or major additions to the priceless Van Horne collection. Nevertheless, they do illustrate that Van Horne did not just buy from major dealers but rather tapped a diversity of sources. For the sum of \$250.00, Van Horne acquired eight studies by A. Decamps of Elijah in the Desert (from the collection of the late R. J. Stevens, Paris); Valley of the Tiber near Rome by Louis Cabat (from the Cabat sale, Paris); a study by Théodore Rousseau of View of Mt. Servan-Zermatt (about 1833, the time of his Jura visit); a river landscape by C.-F. Daubigny in his early manner; and four works by Corot, Study of Tree on Hillside, Summer Afternoon, Study of Sheep, and Forest of Rambouillet. Van Horne also made the following purchases at \$50.00 each: Corot - Study of a Church; Diaz - The Approaching Storm; and an 1865 work by Carrier, Bust of Corot.¹¹⁹

Although the Van Horne purchases were all paintings and studies, other Montreal collectors were interested in the prints that Wickenden had for sale. John Fair, a prominent notary for the Bank of Montreal purchased one of Wickenden's lithographs, Notre-Dame de Paris for \$10.00, as well as several of the artist's paintings and a study by Vollon. The architect, Edward Maxwell considered and then returned an etching by Corot priced at \$10.00, but did purchase a Daubigny study. Cleveland Morgan paid \$55.00 for two etchings - one by Corot, entitled Souvenir d'Italie and the other, Bibi Lalouette by Whistler. Frederick Keppel in New York also purchased two copies

of Wickenden's lithographs, Notre-Dame de Paris at this time.¹²⁰ It would seem then that Wickenden had resumed (or perhaps just continued, given the gap in his financial records during his Quebec City period) his role as a dealer. As before, he did deal in prints but they were not his sole focus.

And as previously, his sales methods were not just transacted on an individual basis but also were entrusted to the auctioneer's gavel. At the end of December, Walter M. Kearns held an auction of Wickenden's private collection, "consisting principally of paintings, studies and etchings by Masters of the Barbizon School".¹²¹ As in his previous auction sales, the 61 lots included a mix of media - 35 oil paintings, 11 watercolours and drawings, and 15 prints, representing 32 artists. The catalogue preface from the auctioneer called attention to the "serious qualities" of the collection and stated that the works had "received the approval of such eminent critics as Philip Gilbert Hamerton, Frederick Keppel, Ulpiano Checa, and others among Mr. Wickenden's personal friends". The accounts reveal that of a gross of \$1,010.50, Wickender received \$869.01 net. Albert Laberge felt that the sale was a bargain for the art amateurs of Montreal "qui purent, pour \$7.50 et \$10.00 obtenir d'admirables eaux fortes de Daubigny et pour \$17.50 une eau forte de Whistler".¹²²

Wickenden sold his own work at auction as well as that of other artists. In January 1903, prior to the Montreal auction, he had sold his own work at Quebec City. A letter from G. M. Fairchild casts an interesting light on the organization of the venture, though no doubt Wickenden was more well-informed on this type of sale than all the advice in the letter would indicate.

It is as well to strike early before too many of the important people have left the city. Even though you arrive this week it will take almost the five or six days to get in readiness and the sale could hardly take place before the 12th inst.¹²³

I have written two preliminary notices, and outlined the form for catalogue and newspaper ads. I enclose them all herewith.¹²⁴ You will want John Budden for auctioneer, and you will have to make your contract with him. He will I am sure treat you fairly. Château Café is I presume the best place for the sale and exhibition.

The sale ought to run for three nights at least. However, Budden will advise you about this better perhaps than I can. Advertise the sale as much as possible both in the French and English papers. See everybody you can. Distribute catalogues freely by mail. It is talk, talk that helps these sales.

Let all the world know the morning following the first sale (through the papers) what enormous bargains purchasers got the first evening, how discouraging to the artist, but no matter the die is cast, etc.

Write up a preliminary critique of the pictures, etc., etc., I will do all I can to keep the thing going. What you cannot dispose of in Quebec you might get rid of in Toronto in a similar way.

I trust you are bringing down lots of small stuff no matter how unimportant, it helps out. Lots of watercolour sketches, little and big, important or unimportant in your eye. Get Cook¹²⁵ to give me an open order up to a certain sum. I'll try to get Palmer¹²⁶ and Bleakie to do the same.¹²⁷

As in his other art activities, Wickenden was not the only artist using auction sales to move his work. Dawson Watson did so through A. J. Maxham at the Château Frontenac on May 13, 1903 and Fairchild reported that "Huot will also sell off at auction".¹²⁸ The success of Wickenden and Watsons' sales evidently enticed others to try their luck.

The success of your sale and Watson's has started four or five Montreal men to combine for a two month show in Quebec. It is now on at or over the "Little Shop". Morris who was out to see me a few days since, is one of the exhibitors. Cullen is I believe another. Who the others are I don't know.¹²⁹

Of course, not all artists approved of this type of sale. For example, Fairchild reported that "Hance [James B. Hance, 1847-1915] is a good deal broken up over all the auction sales of pictures that have taken place within the last year in Quebec."¹³⁰

And so Wickenden's career continued until the spring of 1906 when he decided once again to try his fortunes elsewhere. He returned to the United States, settling his family in Bethel, Connecticut and renting a studio at 7 East 39th Street, New York. While in Canada, his print production had definitely declined in quantity and in some instances, in quality as well. Moreover, his print production was used less as a vehicle of original expression as it was used to advertise to a wider public the execution of portrait commissions of public figures. Like others before him, Wickenden drew on the "tradition of prints executed to commemorate important events in the history of a cult personality".¹³¹ Wickenden also used the sale of prints by other artists, as well as other art works, to

supplement his income. In the next phase of his career, domiciled in the United States, Wickenden used prints to generate new income, but in a different way.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1. Ronald G. Pisano, William Merritt Chase 1849-1916, (Seattle: Henry Art Gallery, University of Washington, 1983), 16. "Chase and his colleagues often saw their work sold for a mere fraction of its true value. This happened repeatedly when Chase offered groups of his paintings for auction. Because of the great number of paintings that were sold each time, the sales did provide a significant amount of much needed revenue, but, in fact, individual paintings brought very little and the auctions were considered disastrous." Pisano refers to sales held in 1887, 1891, 1896, and 1917, the year after Chase's death, always finding that the prices were much less than for paintings sold directly from exhibitions. In 1896, the prices often barely covered the cost of the frames, and Chase "threatened to relocate in Europe, where he believed he could earn a better living as an expatriate painter". The latter response is strikingly similar to Wickenden's retreat to Europe in 1886 and again in 1892.
2. A. A. Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia, 171-174.
3. Ibid., 172.
4. Ibid., 173. He realized 250 francs after commission and expenses on the first sale. A second sale brought in 800 francs.
5. This work is also known as Twilight in Arcadia.
6. A. A. Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia, 100-104, describes his father employing a model in his Auvers studio for the female figure with a lyre in the oil painting, By the Aegean Sea. Evidently the position of the lyre, a cardboard model with a few strings attached, required numerous corrections before Wickenden was satisfied. Neither the model nor the artist had ever played, or seen played, the instrument. (This may account for the awkwardness of the placing of the lyre in this lithograph.) Although he painted the landscape elements en plein-air, Wickenden followed the academic tradition of sketching from the nude model in the studio, and afterwards added clothes to the image.
7. R. J. Wickenden, On the Real and the Ideal in Art (Chicago, 1891).
8. Wickenden was definitely aware of the art of Puvis de Chavannes for his Papers contain a note in his handwriting of Puvis' studio address at Place Pigalle, Paris. "Puvis kept his studio on the Place

Pigalle open and encouraged other artists to visit and talk with him. At the time of the banquet held in his honour on January 16, 1895...a flurry of interviews and articles in the journals and newspapers revealed not only how revered Puvis was among his fellow artists...but just how accessible he was to artists and others interested in his work." (Richard J. Wattenmaker, Puvis de Chavannes and The Modern Tradition [Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1975] 14.)

9. Salon de la Rose+Croix, March 20-April 20, 1896. #110. La reine du sommeil.

10. Katharine A. Jordan, Sir Edmund Walker Print Collector (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1975) 17. Keppel's decision to situate himself in the New York market rather than in the Canadian market which he served by personal visits to collectors like Sir Edmund Walker would not have been a very positive influence on Wickenden's decision.

Wickenden may have been deterred from testing the American market by his previous experiences and by an August 5, 1896 letter from Mrs. Coyl of Detroit stating that "finances in the United States were in a 'startlingly fearful condition' ". (Quoted in A. A. Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia, 173.)

11. A. A. Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia, 171. The identity of the threesome is unfortunately not revealed, but apparently they found Wickenden most charming and treated him with very flattering respect. (Although Napoléon Bourassa and his two daughters were travelling to and from Europe about this time, their voyages did not coincide with those of Wickenden.)

12. Ibid., 173 mentions a letter from Tom Wickenden, Toledo to Wickenden, July 6, 1896.

13. Gaétane de Montreuil, "Lettre de Québec," Le Monde Illustré 13, 656 (le 28 novembre 1896): 487.

14. The space was made available by one of the brothers of Gaétane de Montreuil (the nom de plume of Marie-Georgina Bélanger), one of the first female journalists in the province of Quebec. (Gaétane de Montreuil, "Robert J. Wickenden Sa Vie, Sa Personnalité," Mon Magazine VI,9 [décembre 1931]:12) Resident in Quebec City until 1898 when she moved to Montreal to write regularly for La Presse, Gaétane de Montreuil was a friend and colleague of Albert Laberge, art critic at La Presse. She was married for a time to Charles Gill, the

painter-poet. All three became friends of Robert Wickenden for many years. For example, Charles Gill wrote to Laberge in September 1903: "Nous avons à diner ce soir votre ami Wickenden. S'il vous était agréable de causer avec lui par dessus ma modeste table, vous seriez le bienvenu autour d'y celle à sept heures." (Quoted in Réginald Hamel, Gaétane de Montreuil [Montréal: Aurore, 1976] 45.) At Wickenden's death, de Montreuil wrote the elegiac article about the artist published in Mon Magazine.

15. Exposition de Tableaux, Peintures, Aquarelles et Lithographies Originales par Robert J. Wickenden. Le Nouvel Hôtel de Ville, Québec, Salle 97, le 3-10 novembre 1896. Appendix C includes a listing of the works exhibited.

16. Gaétane de Montreuil, "Lettre de Québec": 486.

17. Laurier Lacroix, Associate Professor, Département de l'histoire de l'art, Université du Québec à Montréal, kindly provided this information.

18. Jules-Siméon Lesage, Notes et Esquisses Québécoises Carnet d'un Amateur (Québec: Tremblay, 1925).

19. Note for example watercolours #23 to 28, and also #36, listed in Appendix C.

20. "Artistic," The Morning Chronicle (Québec), December 8, 1896. Chapleau purchased two watercolours: the source of the Ouatichouan River near the fishing clubhouse on Lac Bouchette; and an autumn scene of the rapids on the same river entering Lac Saint Jean. George E. Amyot, also a patron in future years, purchased Le Repas du Soir and Vue de Québec, prise des Remparts.

21. A. A. Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia, 174.

22. Gaétane de Montreuil, "Lettre de Québec": 487. The author mentions that Wickenden planned to exhibit in Montreal in several weeks time. No documentation of this intent or its execution has surfaced.

23. Subsequent correspondence to Wickenden, 1903-1915, from this order of nuns suggests that they frequently turned to him for advice not only concerning their own art treasures but particularly

concerning the education of young women in their charge who showed an aptitude to excel in art.

24. "Artistic," The Morning Chronicle, December 8, 1896. "The expression of the features, the flesh tints, the hair, all are beautifully represented by the artist, while a certain amount of grace and repose is given to the picture by the folds of the hood, which is that of a Doctor of Letters of Laval University. The reverend gentleman may well feel proud of this admirable likeness."

25. "Une Oeuvre d'Art," L'Electeur (Québec), le 3 décembre, 1896.

26. Casgrain wrote articles on art for L'Événement which appeared in English in The Morning Chronicle. He wrote the following unsigned articles during Wickenden's early stay in Quebec City : "Un peintre distingué de Paris à Québec," L'Événement, le 28 octobre, 1896; "A Distinguished Parisian Artist in Town," The Morning Chronicle, October 28, 1896; "Le Salon de Peinture à l'hôtel de Ville," L'Événement, le 2 novembre, 1896; "A Glance at Mr. Wickenden's Exhibition," The Morning Chronicle, le 2 novembre, 1896; "M. Wickenden et L'Ecole Paysagiste," L'Événement, le 5 novembre, 1896; and "Humanity in Modern Art," The Morning Chronicle, November 9, 1896. (Documentation from the Artist's file, Musée du Séminaire de Québec., Québec).

27. A. A. Wickenden, A Castle in Bohemia, 190.

28. "Le Salon de Peinture à l'Hotel de Ville," L'Événement, le 2 novembre, 1896. "La puissante tête de l'écrivain [Hamerton], d'une vive carnation, sort de la toile avec l'expression d'une haute intelligence. On dit que la vue de ce portrait a donné à quelques-uns de nos idiles la pensée de confier à M. Wickenden l'exécution du portrait de notre maire, qui doit avoir sa place dans l'Hôtel de Ville dû à ses soins."

29. A. A. Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia, 191.

30. Parent was Mayor of Quebec from 1894 to 1905.

31. A more detailed discussion of the juste-milieu can be found in Charles Rosen and Henri Zerner, "The Juste-Milieu and Thomas Couture," Romanticism and Realism, 113-129 and in Albert Boime, The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century, 15-18.

32. A. A. Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia, 192-193.
33. The lithograph of this portrait is Catalogue 25.
34. Trésors des Communautés Religieuses de la ville de Québec, (Québec: Musée du Québec, 1973), 164. Entry for le 14 mai, 1897, Le Journal du Séminaire de Québec.
35. "An Artistic Masterpiece", Unidentified clipping, c.1898. This and other references mention such an exhibition, but no comprehensive listing of the works included has been found.
36. A. A. Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia, 193.
37. M. H. Spielmann, "The Revival of Lithography," The Magazine of Art 20.
Part I. "Introduction: Its Rise and First Decline," (November 1896):75-80. Part II. "Original Lithography. The Revival on the Continent," (January 1897):144-152. Part III. "Original Lithography. The Present Revival in England," (April 1897): 289- 296.
38. Ibid., 146.
39. Ibid., 152. Reproduced with the article, was a full-page illustration of La Mère Panneçaye from 1893. No mention was made of Wickenden's North American lithographs.
40. Henry Hamel, letter to Wickenden, no date. The Société was established in 1897 and Wickenden's membership dates from that time.
41. Further confirmation of the lack of facilities for fine-art printing is suggested by a letter from G. M. Fairchild, Jr., Val Cartier Co., Quebec to Wickenden, August 3, 1911. "You must certainly try your hand at some autumn landscapes in Valcartier this year. Neilson [Henry Ivan Neilson, 1865-1931 was a Quebec City artist] by that time will have recovered from the first shock of marriage, and will be at work again. He has brought out a press for etchings and intends making them a principal feature. [emphasis mine] My sister bought a Quebec bit yesterday. It is cleverly done. Neilson has taken a three years lease of the cottage from his brother Norman. He is to be married September 15th."

42. A. A. Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia, 193. He actually sailed from Liverpool aboard the R.M.S. Labrador, arriving in Canada a few days before July 25. (p. 194.)

43. Pamphlet in the Robert J. Wickenden Papers.

44. Since Wickenden most likely had a hand in writing the copy for this pamphlet, it would seem that he considered his citizenship a matter of convenience. At the time of the Munich Exhibition, for instance, he had worked with the American selection committee and submitted his work with other entries from the United States.

45. Framing was the main business of Louis Morency. He also sold mirrors, oil paintings, watercolours, prints, photographs, screens and ornaments.

(Information derived from an invoice in the Wickenden Papers.)

46. "An Artistic Masterpiece," Unidentified clipping, c.1898. Albert Laberge considered the Chapleau portrait to be "l'une des plus belles oeuvres de l'artiste". (Albert Laberge, Peintres et Ecrivains d'Hier et d'Aujourd'hui, 86.)

47. This is another example of the loose application of citizenship to the artist. The use of "Parisian" in conjunction with portrait painter carried a positive connotation of artistic ability.

48. Ibid. The reporter places utmost importance on the aspect of "likeness". He does, however, reveal his lack of familiarity with the print media by using the terms "lithograph" and "engraving" interchangeably in the article.

49. The phenomena was by no means new in the art world. Portrait painters had traditionally been essentially itinerant in North America, usually remaining in any given location only for weeks or months at a time because no one market would support their enterprise on an ongoing basis, e.g. William Sawyer (1820-1889).

Earlier in the century, Antoine-Sébastien Plamondon (1804-1895) and Théophile Hamel (1817-1870) had secured a place for themselves as portraitists in Quebec City. Hamel was obliged, nonetheless, to travel to Hamilton, Kingston, Toronto and New York to execute portrait commissions.

50. It is during this trip that Wickenden apparently made a proposal to the provincial government concerning the establishment of an

Ecole des Beaux-Arts. His proposal offered the use of his collection for teaching purposes. While the plan did not come to fruition, it is fair to presume that Wickenden envisioned a teaching or administrative position for himself at the proposed institution. He did give sketching lessons to the Quebec Sketching Club, formed at this time by a group of women interested in learning more about art. In future years, the group held exhibitions of their work, usually in the fall. (A. A. Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia, 195-196.)

51. This term is used to contrast portrait commissions of clergy from commissions to execute murals or paintings of a religious nature for church interiors.

52. This information comes from a pamphlet advertising the sale of the lithographs of Begin and Taschereau to the public.

53. A. A. Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia, 195.

54. Nive Voisine, "Elzéar-Alexandre Taschereau," The Canadian Encyclopedia III (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1985): 1785.

55. "The Late Cardinal," The Montreal Star, April 13, 1898. A lengthy article describing Cardinal Taschereau's body lying in state in his private chapel and arrangements for the funeral included the following paragraph.

"A Parisian artist now here, Mr. Wickenden, was painting the Cardinal's portrait from life just prior to his illness. Though not quite finished, it is considered a notable picture, and is exhibited to-day in the vestibule of the palace. This morning Mr. Wickenden also took a death mask of the deceased."

56. Pamphlet published April 25, 1898.

57. The characterization of Wickenden as a "Protestant" artist suggests a certain prejudice on the part of the author. (The passage appears as in the original Manuscrit 746: Journal de Mgr Alfred Paré, Séminaire de Québec. Volume 1 (Années 1898-1899), le 28 octobre, 1898, 176, as quoted by Denis Martin, "Gravures du Séminaire de Québec (Histoire et Destins Culturels)" [M.A. thesis, Université Laval, 1980], 55.)

58. François-Marc Gagnon, La Conversion par l'image (Montréal: Bellarmin, 1975).

59. A. A. Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia, 197.

60. Ibid. On this visit, he did see Gaëtane de Montreuil and other friends.

61. Ibid. Wickenden sailed for Europe May 21 on the S. S. Dominion.

62. Ibid. He sailed September 15, 1898 on the S. S. Dominion. on his return, the author says that the artist distributed prints at the Union Club but it is not clear what prints, what if any recompense he received for them, and just as important, who received them.

63. Catalogue of Oil Paintings, Watercolours, Auto-Lithographs by Robert J. Wickenden. Château Frontenac, Quebec. January 24-28, 1899. (See complete listing, Appendix C.)

64. The attention of the anonymous reviewer of the exhibition in The Daily Mercury (Quebec), January 24, 1899 was caught primarily by the portraits of Brown and Fairchild. "We have recently spoken of the splendid likeness of Mr. John Brown, which is most faithful and true. MR. WICKENDEN has just finished his portrait of Mr. George M. Fairchild, jr., of Cap Rouge. It is correct in every detail, and no one can help being impressed by it. The colouring is skilful, and the artist has caught with great fidelity the expression of his sitter's face...Space to do justice to all the paintings in the room is impossible, just now...." (Unidentified clipping)

65. "The Painter's Art," The Quebec Chronicle, January 26, 1899.

66. A. A. Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia, 198. (Exposition Universelle, Paris, 1900)

67. It particularly brings to mind Millet's The Sower (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), depicted in a number of versions in the middle of the nineteenth century. Other images by Millet of the peasant at work - The Winnower (1853-57, Musée du Louvre), Woodsawyers (1848, Victoria and Albert Museum) - are also part of the tradition evoked by Wickenden.

68. A. A. Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia, 198. This suggests that Wickenden felt isolated in Quebec City. Such artists as were active in the city at the time obviously did not provide him with the stimulation and cross-fertilization of ideas that he sought from his peers.

69. Ibid. He left New York on March 19, 1899 aboard La Champagne bound for Le Havre. After a few days at Auvers, he rented a studio in Paris at 81 Boulevard Clichy.

70. Numbers 4904 and 4905, Oeuvres de Peinture, Sculpture, Architecture, Gravure et Lithographie des Artists Vivants, Palais des Machines, Avenue de la Bourdonnais, Paris. Opened May 1, 1899.

71. The paintings exhibited by Wickenden at the 1899 R.C.A. were the portrait of G. M. Fairchild, Sunset on the Oise (owned by the Honourable A. W. Atwater, a Montreal lawyer and legislator), and Notre-Dame.

72. A. A. Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia, 209-219. The canvas size began at 4 foot square, and then was enlarged to five foot square including frame. Delivery and price became an unpleasant argument between the artist and patron. The author indicates that Mr. Lacem eventually accepted the piece. Entry #23 in the catalogue for the Wickenden exhibition at the Château Frontenac, Quebec, January 19-26, 1901, however, lists "La Terre", after the original by G. Bertrand in the Hôtel de Ville, Paris as the property of G. E. Amyot of Quebec City.

73. Ibid., 222.

74. Ibid. In one letter, Abbé Casgrain invited Wickenden to share "une petite verre pour la grande occasion". Unfortunately, the author does not cite what the occasion was so we are left knowing only that Abbé Casgrain and Wickenden remained in contact.

75. Ibid.

76. Ibid., 225.

77. Ibid., 224. The author mentions a letter from a Quebec friend to the Honourable Sydney Fisher, Ottawa, March 13, 1900, among others.

78. Ouvrages de Peinture, Sculpture, Architecture, Gravure et Lithographie des Artists Vivants. Place de Breteuil, Paris. Opening April 7, 1900.

79. A. A. Wickenden, Castle in Bohemia, 227. The sales apparently brought in several thousand francs.

80. Ibid. In the end the house was sold for 18,000 francs to a Paris contractor, M. Jousserand who renamed it "Villa Corot".

81. Their first address was 24 Côte Ste.-Catherine. In March 1903, Robert and Ada Wickenden were debating whether they should stay in Canada or return to Europe. They opted to stay, purchasing a house at Ste.-Adèle that had been the property of Judge S. Pagnuelo. Several letters from Fairchild had cautioned them against such a move, warning that village life in Canada was not the same as in France at Auvic-sur-Oise. (March 16, March 24, and April 3, 1903)

In a letter from Fairchild, Cap Rouge, to Wickenden, July 7, 1903, the author wrote: "When I wrote Dawson Watson [Quebec City artist who held a final sale of his work in Quebec May 13, 1903 and moved to New York state as Art Director of a new school there] that you were settled in a country parish forty miles from Montreal his reply was characteristic: 'Is W. distilling whiskey blanc and giving a painting with each cask otherwise I don't see how he is going to pull it off in any Canadian parish. Give him my love and say I wish him success anyway.' I made answer that you were growing onions and a painting went with each bushel."

Wickenden maintained a studio in Montreal. His studio was initially located in the Y.M.C.A. building on the site of the present Sun Life building on Dominion Square. He later moved his studio to 3 Beaver Hall Square. Albert Laberge, Peintres et Ecrivains d'Hier et d'Aujourd'hui (Montreal: Edition Privée, 1938) 86, suggests that Wickenden and Cullen both had studios at this address. It seems more likely that Cullen, who gives this studio address from 1906, took over Wickenden's studio after the latter's move to the New York area around April 1906. At any rate, Wickenden knew Cullen for his painting The Thaw, Dominion Square, Montreal was part of the collection Wickenden moved to New York and presented at auction in 1910 through the Anderson Auction Company.

82. While artists always felt a financial lack of public support and most would have struggled to make a living, the fact of more institutions dedicated to furthering art in Montreal would have made it a more attractive choice than Quebec City.

83. Wickenden was elected a member November 11, 1905.

84. A.B. Routhier, Québec et Lévis à l'aurore du XXe siècle. (Montréal: Champlain, 1900) 50. Other pictures hung in the salon included bishops and archbishops dating from as early as the days of Laval as well as Popes Gregory XVI and Léon XIII.

85. Wickenden exhibited at the Spring Exhibition of the Art Association of Montreal in 1900, but it must be assumed that this was prior to his May departure from France, and therefore was arranged from a distance.

86. January 19-26, 1901.

87. The writer admired the vigour and natural quality of the action portrayed and found the subject matter, drawing as it did on the Canadian heritage, very appropriate. When shown at the 20th Spring Exhibition of the Art Association of Montreal (1901), one reviewer found the subject of the Canadian woodsman totally reprehensible "A little more of the beauty of the forest and a good deal less red shirt, axe, wounds and chips, would have made the canvas more enduring. The artist's talents would be better employed in such work as his No.102 'Portrait of Philip Gilbert Hamerton'. Violent, red-shirted woodland ogres are not pleasant people to live with in pictures." The Witness (Montreal), March 13, 1901.

88. "Works of Mr. Wickenden," The Daily Telegraph, January 21, 1901.

89. "L'Exposition de M. Wickenden," Le Soleil (Québec), le 24 janvier, 1901.

90. The 1901 cross-Canada royal tour of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York (later King George V and Queen Mary) generated work for other artists as well, like C. W. Jeffries who produced illustrations for The Globe. (Robert Stacey, Western Sunlight C. W. Jeffries on the Prairies [Saskatoon: Mendel Art Gallery, 1986] 19.)

91. Advertisement in The Daily Telegraph (Quebec), September 9, 1901.

92. Lemoine (1825-1912) was a prolific writer in English and French, a historian, antiquarian and naturalist. He, like other subjects painted by Wickenden, had ties to the Quebec Seminary where he had been educated. He was inspector of inland revenue for the district of Quebec (1869-1899), was president of the Royal Society of Canada in 1894, and was created a knight bachelor in 1897.

93. The gift was widely subscribed and presented to Lemoine at his residence, Spencer Grange. About 60 friends attended the reception including the Governor-General of Canada, Lord Minto and Lady

Minto, and the Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec, Sir Louis and Lady Jetté. Sir Jetté's portrait was also painted by Wickenden. (Untitled clipping, Quebec Mercury, August 11, 1902.) Also "Honoring Sir James Lemoine," The Daily Telgraph (Quebec), August 23, 1902, which reproduces a letter from "Nemo" published a week earlier in The Montreal Star.

94. "Coup-d'oeil artistique de Quebec au Cap Rouge," Le Soleil (Québec), le 16 juillet, 1902. This article was also published in The Daily Telgraph (Quebec), July 26, 1902 under the title "Interesting Sketches of Prominent Quebecers".

95. Sir Henri-Gustave Joly de Lotbinière (1829-1908), lawyer, Liberal politician, head of the Quebec Liberal Party from 1867, premier of Quebec 1878-1879. In 1896 he returned to federal politics and was a member of Laurier's Cabinet 1896-1900. At the time of Fairchild's letter, Joly was Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia (1900-1906).

96. G. M. Fairchild, Jr., Cap Rouge, letter to Wickenden, September 2, 1903. The social days refers to a number of social events for a visiting Admiral at the Garrison.

97. James Watrous, American Printmaking: A Century of American Printmaking 1880-1980, x, also p. 3. This was the case especially in regard to etching and wood-engraving in the 1870s and 1880s. It was also true of lithography although this medium attracted fewer American practitioners than the other two media.

98. Ibid., 28. "By the end of the century almost all the artists who had been involved in the emergence and successes of late nineteenth-century etching had died, were aging, or had turned to painting as a more commanding and rewarding artistic enterprise." Printmaking in America did not really revive until the period between the two World Wars.

99. Jean Adhemar, "In Praise of Lithography," in Domenico Porzio (ed.), Lithography: 200 Years of Art, History and Technique (New York: Abrams, 1983) 19-21.

100. Frank Weitenkampf, "Painter-Lithography in the United States," Scribner's Magazine XXXIII, 61 (June 1903): 537-550. He particularly cited Wickenden's 1894 exhibition at Keppel Gallery and

the award-winning lithographs shown there. Also his book, How To Appreciate Prints (New York: Scribners, 1908).

101. Reproduced in The Bookman, September 1908: 10.

102. Frank Weitenkampf, 425 Lafayette Street, New York, letter to Wickenden, September 25, 1905.

103. He also held exhibitions at this dealer in 1919, 1922, 1923, and 1925. Details in Appendix C.

104. He held exhibitions in Quebec City in 1896, 1899, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1905, and 1907. Details in Appendix C.

105. Trésors des Communautés Religieuses de la Ville de Québec (Québec: Musée de Québec, 1973) 164. The entry in the Seminary journal for October 1, 1901 read: "Collection Alfred-Cyrille Marois. On accepte les tableaux offerts par Mgr Marois pour une somme de \$6,000.00 à employer en pension pour des élèves pauvres au Grand Séminaire ou au Petit Séminaire, et on autorise Monsieur C. F. Gagnon à signer les papiers à cet effet."

106. Ibid. Seminary journal entry for November 21, 1901. "On a placé aujourd'hui dans la salle de lecture des prêtres un portrait de notre regretté Cardinal Taschereau. Cette peinture est une de celles qui viennent de Mgr. Marois. Ce portrait a été fait par Wickenden et nous montre notre vieux Cardinal à la fin de sa vie."

107. Ibid., 165. Seminary journal entry for March 15, 1903. "Après information prise, je puis affirmer que M. Huot [Charles Edouard Huot, 1855-1930, a Quebec City artist] n'a pas évalué la collection Marois, l'année dernière. Messieurs Raab et Wickenden on fait la besogne. Rien d'étonnant alors si les prix ont été généreusement poussés."

108. Accounts and Memoranda Book III Robert J. Wickenden, 7. Messrs. Henry Morgan & Co., Montreal

March 15, 1905.	To cleaning and restoring Italian painting-\$5 less 20% \$4.00
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March 24, 1905.	To cleaning and restoring painting Old English School - \$3.50
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April 8, 1905.	*To restoration and expertise of painting by A. Van de Velde-\$20. less 20% - \$16.00
	To tinting photos [illegible] - \$5.00

April 20, 1905. To relining and restoring old painting, The
Prodigal Son, Signed "B.C. 1717" - \$10.00

*Wickenden's written opinion of Morning in the Farmyard by Adrian
Van den Velde remains in the Robert J. Wickenden Papers.

109. Wickenden is listed as an annual member of the Art
Association of Montreal from 1900 to 1905. Dr. Adami, the McGill
professor, whose portrait Wickenden executed, was a member of the
Art Association of Montreal Standing Committee 1900-1904
inclusive. (Art Association of Montreal Annual Reports)

110. "The Art Gallery," The Gazette (Montreal), December 17, 1900.
Also "Art Association of Montreal," The Montreal Herald, December
18, 1900. Wickenden and these collectors were listed as present at
the Annual Meeting.

111. Albert Laberge, "Robert W. Wickenden," Peintres et Ecrivains
d'Hier et D'Aujourd'hui, 86. See also Walter Vaughan, The Life and
Work of Sir William Van Horne (New York: Century, 1902) 270; "Sir
William Van Horne's Portrait by Robert Wickenden," The Quebec
Telegraph, March 27, 1915, describes Wickenden as "an intimate
acquaintance" of Van Horne; and Dusty Vineberg, "Van Horne's
railyard painting given to railway museum," The Montreal Star,
August 4, 1973: A-7, describes Wickenden as "a close personal
friend".

112. Vaughan, The Life and Work of Sir William Van Horne, 270.
Percy Woodcock (1855-1936) was another artist who sometimes
shared a studio with Van Horne. (Elizabeth Hiscolt, "Art and Van
Horne," The Atlantic Advocate, January 1977)

113. W. C. Van Horne, 917 Sherbrooke St., Montreal, letter to
Wickenden, 3 Beaver Hall Square, January 25, 1904. W. C. Van
Horne, The Cuba Railroad Company, New York, letter to Wickenden,
New York, January 16, 1907. "I hope you will not go to Montreal until
next week when I shall be at home."

Similarly, W. C. Van Horne, Montreal to Wickenden, June 27,
1908. "I have yours of the 24th and I am haunted by the fear that I
may have broken an engagement with you for Friday evening last
week. If I was guilty of that I can only plead an unexpected
detention in New York and consequent hurry on the Friday in
question.

I hope we shall see you when you next come up."

114. Ernest F. Fennollosa gave a lecture to the Art Association of Montreal February 8, 1908, entitled "The Designers of Japanese Colour Prints". (47th Annual Report, Art Association of Montreal, Year ending December 31, 1908, 10.) Fennollosa went to the University of Tokyo in 1878. In 1890, he was appointed Curator of Oriental Art, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. In the years preceding his death in 1908, Fennollosa gave lectures on Eastern Art all over North America. He was acquainted with, and sometimes advised Charles Lang Freer, Detroit, who had an extensive collection of Oriental Art, as did Sir William Van Horne. Wickenden used this introduction to an article on Daubigny since one of Fennollosa's areas of research had been a comparison of quality of technique from father to son among the court painters known as the Kano School. Daubigny's family had similarly been artists for many generations. (Robert J. Wickenden, "Charles-François Daubigny Painter and Etcher," The Print-Collector's Quarterly 3,2 [April 1918]: 176-206, and particularly 176-177.)

115. Van Horne's portrait was also painted in the 1900s by Wyatt Eaton.

116. G. M. Fairchild Jr., 5 Stanislas St., Quebec, letter to Wickenden, December 27, 1905. It is not clear if Van Horne commissioned the portrait and then had trouble to make himself available for the necessary sittings, or if Wickenden sought to paint the portrait and Van Horne consented. This ambiguity is also evident in a letter from Van Horne, St. Andrews, N.B. to Wickenden, August 24, 1905. "I have your letter of the 15th. I have so much running about to do and my movements are so very uncertain that I dare not, for a good many weeks to come, make any appointment with you in the matter referred to. I am a day or two here, a day or two in Montreal, and the rest of the time in New York and elsewhere, and I shall be unable, for a while, to count any two or three consecutive days as my own."

117. Fairchild, 5 Stanislas St., Quebec, letter to Wickenden, May 28, 1906. "I know the country about Bethel and as you say it is picturesque and paintable and not too far from N. Y. The location of your studio is splendid for centrality and convenience to everything. And now it wants but a blast of trumpets and a send-off. Van Horne's portrait and some other work should give you this when the fall comes."

118. The list in Wickenden's handwriting bears his Montreal studio address, 3 Beaver Hall Square, and the title "Sir William Van Horne K.C.M.G. bought of R. J. Wickenden".

119. It is extremely difficult to trace the whereabouts of the Van Horne collection, as it existed at the death of the collector in 1915. About one-quarter of it now belongs to the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, a bequest of Miss Adaline Van Horne in the early 1930s. Other descendants dispersed their share of the collection.

In 1926 and 1927, Wickenden was hired by the Van Horne family to catalogue Sir William's collection. His catalogue entries and notes indicate the extensive research that accompanied the task as he compiled lists of references to each work and also placed each item within the context of the oeuvre of each artist. Wickenden's work also included an unpublished manuscript, dated Montreal 1927, entitled "Sir William Van Horne as an Artist and Collector".

File 2 of the Van Horne Archives at the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts indicates that in 1925, Stephan Bourgeois of Bourgeois Galleries, 693 Fifth Avenue, New York was asked to catalogue the collection. (F.C. Morgan, letter to Miss Frick, 6 East 71 Street, N.Y., November 24, 1925) It is not known if Bourgeois and Wickenden worked together - a possibility given the size of the collection - or if Wickenden was hired when the arrangement with Bourgeois did not work out. Wickenden's notes indicate that he catalogued European and North American paintings, not the Oriental art. (In 1925, the elderly Lady Van Horne was very ill, perhaps precipitating the need to catalogue the collection.)

An indication of the extent of cataloguing of the Van Horne collection at the time is given in a letter from the Montreal photographer, Notman to F. Cleveland Morgan, Henry Morgan & Co., Montreal, May 20, 1926. Notman indicates that he has 8 x 10" photos of the complete Van Horne collection if Morgan wants them for Miss Frick. (Also in the Montreal Museum Van Horne Archives files.)

120. All this data is derived from Accounts and Memoranda Book III with entries from 1905-08. Other Montreal purchasers were: R. G. Matthews, 2718 St. Catherine St., Montreal. Drawings and Paintings \$150.00.; Drawings and studies \$58.00 David Stewart. Forest of Fontainebleau by Palizzi \$30.00 and Autumn in the Laurentians by Wickenden \$50.00.

Kerneth Macpherson. Antique chairs \$25.00; Daubigny copy after Claude Lorrain \$100.00; Battle-scene drawing by Parrocel \$5.00; Charcoal drawing by Daubigny - Banks of Oise \$25.00;

Corot landscape study \$50.00; The Bathers, decorative panel by Lapostolet \$35.00

K. J. Schumacher. Painting, near Ville d'Avray by Corot \$300.00. The Windmills by Rousseau \$300.00

C. Coristine. Decamps drawing Arab Horsemen \$5.00. Bonington watercolour \$5.00. Oil study by Edme-François Daubigny \$5.00. Karl Daubigny study Etude de [illegible] - bords de l'Oise \$10.00. Prudhon Pluto carrying off Prosperine \$5.00. Harvest scene-oil by Wickenden \$15.00

Mortimer Lamb, Secretary, Institute of Mining Engineers, Dorchester St., Montreal. Landscape study by Rousseau \$50.00. Small Corot on panel \$25.00

121. Catalogue of the Private Collection of Mr. Robert J. Wickenden. Sale to be held at 3 Beaver Hall Square, Montreal, Tuesday December 22, 1903 at 3. p.m.

122. Albert Laberge, Peintres et Ecrivains d'Hier et d'Aujourd'hui, 87. This information is confirmed by the sales records.

#40. Port of Genoa, etching, Adolphe Appian \$12.50

#43. The Adam and Eve Tavern, etching, Whistler \$17.50

#48. Soupe à Trois Sous, etching, Whistler, \$25.00

#49. The Ford, etching, C.-F. Daubigny, \$15.00

#52. The End of the Day, etching after G. Mercier, Jules Breton, \$41.00

#53. Rembrandt in Military Dress, etching, Philip Zilcken, \$15.00

#57. Supper-Time, etching, Josef Israel, \$12.00

#59. "Les Marais aux Cigognes", etching, C.-F. Daubigny, \$10.00

#60. Moonlight at Valmondais, etching, C.-F. Daubigny, \$7.50

#61. Moonrise in the Forest, etching, Auguste Delâtre, \$15.00

123. The sale was held in the Empire Room of the Château Frontenac, January 22 and 23, 1903. The auction firm was A.J. Maxham & Co. The 49 works are listed in Appendix C.

124. These items are not in the Wickenden Papers.

125. Charles S. Cook, President and Treasurer, A. Powell & Co., Jewellers and Silversmiths, 24 Winter St., Boston. Cook, letter to Fairchild, January 9, 1903. "I have no ducats to squander in objets d'art just now so cannot avail myself of your kind offer to grab good markdowns in Wick's sale. It seems queer for him to go back to Paris [he was considering it at this time, but did not do so]. I supposed he had obtained a good foothold in Canada."

126. G. M. Fairchild, Jr., Cap Rouge, letter to Wickenden, January 16, 1903. "Dear old Palmer writes that he is up to his eyes just now and must hold up for the time all along the line. However your sale is not going to be affected by these defections, which after all we did not count upon as a serious factor."

127. G. M. Fairchild, Jr., Cap Rouge, letter to Wickenden, January 4, 1903.

128. G. M. Fairchild, Jr., Cap Rouge, letter to Wickenden, April 3, 1903.

129. G. M. Fairchild, Jr., Cap Rouge, letter to Wickenden, July 7, 1903. In the same letter, he mentioned that "Hance has not turned up in Quebec yet. Harrison [Birge Lovell Harrison 1854-1911] is on the island making [Horatio] Walker's life miserable."

In a subsequent letter, July 14, 1903, Fairchild reported: "Just a few lines to accompany the enclosed catalogue of pictures as the "Little Shop". There are a few interesting bits, the rest pas grande chose...It will run for three months. Prices are too high for Quebec, but I dare say offers would be considered.

130. G. M. Fairchild, Jr., Valcartier, letter to Wickenden, September 1, 1903.

Wickenden again sold his work at auction through A. J. Maxham auctioneers on December 16, 1907 at the Morency Art Rooms, 183 John Street, Quebec, lots 12 through 37. Paintings, Objects of Art and Jewellery from the Estate of the late Philippe Huot. Also an Important Collection of Oil and Watercolour Paintings (Cabinet Size) by Robert J. Wickenden.

131. Douglas Druick, "The Lithographs of Henri Fantin-Latour": 23, cites a similar use of the print media by Fantin-Latour.

CHAPTER 4THE UNITED STATES: PRINTS IN PRINT 1906-1931

Robert Wickenden's move from Montreal to the New York area in the spring of 1906 could ostensibly be seen as an attempt to be closer to a larger, more dynamic art world, and therefore, to a more lucrative market supported by a greater number of dealers and patrons. The move, however, appears only to have intensified the itinerant character of his career. He continued to travel incessantly - to Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa, Pennsylvania, Maine, Detroit, and Toledo for portrait and landscape commissions as well as canvases executed in the hope of a future sale. The itinerancy no doubt catered to his restless nature and added an aura of glamorous worldliness to his clients' perception of his artistic personae. Nevertheless, this type of working life demanded enormous expenditures of time, energy, and financial resources, not to mention the strain of frequent, and often lengthy, family separations, and the inconvenience of working away from his own studio.¹

By and large, it does not appear that Wickenden exploited the New York market to advantage. If he did try, his attempts have gone unrecorded. He did not have any one-man exhibitions in New York at this time. Nor did he exhibit in American institution- or dealer-sponsored group shows during this last quarter century of his career. It was only during the 1920s (the last decade of his life) that he participated in group exhibitions in the United States, and then it was only with the local Brooklyn artists' group known as The Ovington Studios.² He did, however, send work to the Art Association of Montreal and/or the Royal Canadian Academy Exhibitions in 1915,

1916, 1921, 1922 and 1925, as well as the Canadian Artists' Patriotic Fund Exhibition (1915).³ Throughout this later American period, the only exhibition of Wickenden's work in New York took place in 1907 when Frank Weitenkampf, Curator of Prints at the New York Public Library organized a three-month showing of the institution's recent acquisitions of American prints.⁴

In this period, most of the Wickenden exhibitions took place in Quebec City, Ottawa, Montreal and Toronto with only a few instances south of the border in Connecticut, and an isolated showing in Toledo.⁵ It is only possible to speculate at the reason for this combination of American residency and a largely Canadian exhibition history. Firstly, at this time Wickenden's painting style, which remained in the tradition of the Barbizon painters, was conservative in nature in comparison to the tendencies of the American impressionists, and especially of the avant-garde. Consequently, his style of landscapes and portraits would have appealed to an equally conservative audience - an audience more likely located in the smaller cities of the United States and Canada than in New York.⁶ Secondly, the artist was relying primarily on contacts already developed rather than forging new links at this stage of his career.⁷ Lastly, it would seem that Wickenden, like other artists, held exhibitions as much to bolster his reputation and keep his name before the public in the hope of future returns, as for the immediate sales realized during such exhibitions. This strategy is confirmed by Wickenden's teacher and friend, Carroll Beckwith, who planned to circulate his forthcoming exhibition at The John Herron Art Institute in Indianapolis to other cities in the Midwest. Beckwith wrote:

As you say, though there may be no sales in these exhibitions that are now going on, they will make for reputation which, by the way I shall soon need, as we are making our plans to go home in March.⁸

In two respects, Wickenden's involvement with prints remained the same as in previous periods. He continued to sell prints and paintings from his private collection⁹, and he again used prints as an advertisement for the oil painting medium. In the spring of 1910, Wickenden held two major auctions of his collection at The Anderson Auction Company in New York.¹⁰ The catalogues were similar in character to those produced for Wickenden's previous auctions. The introductory note stated Wickenden's intention to return to Europe as the reason for the sale.¹¹ As in the earlier Wickenden auction catalogues, frequent links are made between Wickenden and artists with established reputations in the art markets of Europe. Here, the first is between Wickenden and Whistler, for the former's first Salon entry, The Gleaner of the Forest, Fontainebleau (1884), was hung beside the latter's portrait of Carlyle. The familiar links with Charles-François and Karl Daubigny are stressed along with Corot, even though all three artists predeceased Wickenden's stay in the village of Auvers-sur-Oise. The introduction concludes by underlining Wickenden's expertise on the techniques and oeuvre of the older artists. The value of the art to be sold was linked with the personae of Wickenden the collector.

It is believed that this collection possesses unusual interest on account of the personality of its artist-owner, and more than ordinary value on account of his critical knowledge and

intimate association with the other artists represented in this collection.¹²

The annotated catalogue of paintings, drawings and prints included 251 works. Among the oil paintings were 40 by European artists, 27 by Wickenden mostly representing Canadian scenes one by the American Charles Sprague Pearce who had lived at Auvers at the same time as Wickenden, and three from Canadian artists. They were The Thaw, Dominion Square, Montreal by Maurice Cullen, Antique Dance by Franklin Brownell, and The Passing Shower, a watercolour by Allan Edson. After viewing the auction preview, one writer gave Wickenden's Canadian landscapes the most attention¹³, and expressed the opinion that the early work and drawings of the Barbizon School were mostly of interest to museums (rather than the general public) for showing the stages of an artist's development. The exhibition and auction was attended by many Canadians visiting New York for Easter, including Sir William Van Horne.¹⁴ One of Wickenden's oil panels - Noontide-Plain of Auvers, France (also known as Midi) which he had shown at the 1889 Exposition Universelle at Paris - was purchased by Van Horne for his collection.¹⁵

The second evening of the auction - devoted to drawings and prints - was deemed more interesting than the painting session, a reversal of the usual attention accorded the different media.¹⁶ Of the 61 drawings, two in charcoal - one by Charles-François Daubigny of the Coast of Normandy and the other by Jean-François Millet of The Potato Harvest received particular notice. Also mentioned in the press was a pencil drawing, The Pieta, c. 1876, by John Singer

Sargent done to describe a movement for a Pieta to his studio-mate, Carroll Beckwith.¹⁷ Drawings by Beckwith and by another American artist of his circle, Robert Blum, were also included among the offerings. Of the ninety-seven lots of prints, 19 were by Wickenden - 18 lithographs and one etching. Among the lots representing a wide variety of nineteenth-century artists (mostly European), special attention was paid to those by Charles Jacque, "whom many consider a greater etcher than he was a painter".¹⁸ Lot 165 was of utmost interest as it was a collection of 58 etchings, including many proofs, on 29 sheets by Auguste Delâtre who had presented the collection to his old friend, Charles-François Daubigny. Delâtre had been better known as "the printer of many etchings by Whistler and other artists", but was now revealed as an "excellent original etcher" in his own right.¹⁹

In the second part of the auction, which included rugs, sporting trophies, antiques and other curiosities from his studio, Wickenden was selling still more prints. The prints were a mixture of 83 original prints and a few reproductions (clearly indicated as such), also representative of nineteenth-century print production in France. Twenty-seven lots were prints, mostly artist's proofs, by Charles Jacque. In addition, forty-seven lots of Japanese prints were up for auction, evidence that Wickenden's interest in the 1907 lecture on Japanese art by Ernest Fenellosa in Montreal was not just attended out of intellectual curiosity but was backed by significant holdings in his own personal collection.²⁰

Wickenden did only three prints during the 1906-1931 period. The first was a 1910 lithograph after his commissioned oil portrait of

the Bishop of Saint John, N. B., Timothy Casey (Cat. 33). It is very similar in both style and composition to Wickenden's Quebec period portraits of the clerics, Bégin and Taschereau. The last in 1929, of the artist Fred Detwiller (Cat. 35), appears to be a rapid studio exercise in which the two artists sketched each other and experimented with the lithographic medium.²¹ The other print by Wickenden during this American period was an etching of Sir Thomas More (Cat. 34) after an oil panel found in Ontario, and reputed to be by Albrecht Dürer.²² This etching was a commission for which Wickenden requested payment of \$500.00 for "an etching on copper of the same size as the original, payable on delivery of the plate for printing". He further stipulated a fee of \$5.00 per proof for "the approval, remarque, and signing of the first fifty or less de luxe proofs on Japanese vellum" and a fee of \$2.00 per proof for the "approval and signature" for the "one hundred or less following artist's proofs".²³ The purpose of the commission fell even more clearly under the umbrella of advertising than the lithographic prints of the Quebec clergy. In this case, the object of the print was to advertise the original art work - the Dürer panel - and therefore, to create a demand for it in the art marketplace, rather than to promote the subject of the art work, which was the object of the Quebec lithographs. Wickenden himself stated that he was,

about to undertake the important task of etching the portrait of the Blessed Thomas More, so that as an engraving its intelligent and sweet expression may be more widely known and appreciated throughout the world. This plan proposed by Mr. Gleeson and Mr. Carter can only add to the glory of the Blessed

Thomas as well as to the value of and interest shown in this rare and marvellous portrait.²⁴

The plan also included producing a small booklet about the painting to publicize the history and authenticity of the Dürer portrait.²⁵

Bishop Timothy Casey was asked to write an introduction, thus lending the project the support of a prestigious figure in the Roman Catholic Church in the Maritimes. As Wickenden explained:

Mr. Carter tells me he had hoped that your Lordship might find it possible amid your many and great duties to set down in compact form the facts of the Blessed Thomas' life, so that the world may know how great a man he was, and why his features as recorded in this work from life by the immortal Albert Dürer should be more widely known and become a source of the widest admiration, and emulation to present and future generations.

My only material interest is to carry out the work with which I have been commissioned as thoroughly as possible, yet I feel that the success of the whole matter, as it regards the proper placing of the relic, as well as a proper compensation to Mr. Gleeson and others who have made and are making serious sacrifices on its account, would be greatly helped and advanced by a short life of the saintly hero from your Lordship's sympathetic and eloquent pen and put in pamphlet form.²⁶

By December, the extent of the audience the More etching could reach was under discussion between Wickenden and Gleeson, notwithstanding the specification of the size of the edition in the original contract. Wickenden advised:

Now as to the size of the edition - you of course know best in a general way how many

you will require. When I saw Keppels²⁷ on this subject last summer they judging merely from the printseller's point of view thought 150 artist's proofs²⁸ and the lettered proofs ad libitum would be about what their trade would ordinarily call for. But with your expectation of using a wider field, that is, the communities²⁹, the societies, and the general needs of the church will require a larger number and you are the best judge of what this should be so that the investment will correspond with probable returns, and be within the means you can comfortably put into it.³⁰

In the end, the More etching became a source of considerable frustration and anxiety for Wickenden. Carter had no end of ideas for promoting the work. He sent complimentary proofs to highly placed individuals in the clergy and the judiciary to increase interest in the More painting, backed by a fervent hope that it would be regarded as a sacred relic and consequently, be purchased by the Vatican at great cost. Carter's promotions, however, brought no financial returns to the project. Once the American and Canadian copyrights of the etchings were in place, newspaper publicity about the great art find was sought.³¹ To add to Wickenden's worries, Gleeson continually procrastinated in paying both his own fee and that of the printer, leaving the artist caught in the middle and out-of-pocket.³² The last records of the affair in Wickenden's Papers suggest that he regarded the mismanagement of the More commission as a lost opportunity.

I have never lost faith or changed my opinion about the More portrait. The War has naturally had a disturbing effect on Art matters, and yet a work so rare and so

intimately connected with the great lights of learning, Art and Religion, has a permanent interest that not even the preoccupations of war can displace.

Then, too, the portrait through the reproduction of my etching has a fixed place in the Catholic Encyclopedia, and I cannot help thinking that if the etching were published in the right way and by the right people, it would prove profitable, both in itself and in adding to the reputation and value of the painting itself...³³

When I was in Holland in 1912, Dr. Jan Veth, a famous portraitist and Art Critic inquired interestedly about the portrait of which he had seen my etching at Sir William Van Horne's in Montreal. Dr. Veth had intended to republish Dürer's Diaries in collaboration with Muller, another art critic, and frankly said he felt much interested in the portrait and wished he could have seen it...³⁴

Wickenden's selling and making of prints in this American period was a continuation of the artistic activity of his earlier periods and was carried on quite independently of the New York art market at his doorstep. The ready access to New York, however, did present different opportunities to make use of his print expertise. The most obvious were requests for his expert opinion on prints and/or paintings.³⁵ The other was the opportunity to write extensively on the prints of the Barbizon artists. Wickenden's entrée into art writing came through Frederick Keppel who "from the first regarded the educational as inseparable from the commercial aspect of his enterprise".³⁶ From the outset, Keppel Galleries had published catalogues for its exhibitions. They went beyond the simple listing of

titles common to most commercial exhibitions at this time to include an introduction to the artist and an annotated listing of the prints on display. Intermittently through this later American period, Wickenden contributed to these exhibition catalogues, starting with an exhibition of drawings and etchings by Daubigny at Keppels in 1907, and ending with an exhibition of prints of the Barbizon School in 1925 at the same gallery.³⁷ In all, he interweaves biographical data with the identification of landscape sources and references to process and technique. He underlines the fact that for him, the members of the Barbizon School created art that he revered.

For these men³⁸ were artists in the true sense of the word. Their deep love of natural beauty, - well served by skill and knowledge, - the simple dignity of their lives, and the elevation of their aims have given them permanent place among those whose humanity delights to emulate and honor.³⁹

Wickenden also suggests that the general public may find prints afford a more "intimate observation" of the "varied expressions of the artists' personalities" than do paintings.⁴⁰

One of the hallmarks of the print revival in France during the last four decades of the nineteenth century, apart from the actual production of the master printmakers, was the supporting role played by dealers, curators and critics. It was not enough to produce and exhibit prints. The artists also needed tangible recognition; i.e., sales and critical attention in the press. An audience amenable to viewing and collecting prints required a growing body of literature to bring forward information about the artists and the art of printmaking. This requirement was as necessary in North America as

in France. Like Sylvester R. Koehler⁴¹ before him, Frederick Keppel tried to further the foundations of a body of critical writing on prints.⁴² In 1911, he initiated the journal, The Print Collector's Quarterly under the editorship of his employee, FitzRoy Carrington. Its content was primarily devoted to European artists and few attempts were made to discuss contemporary American printmakers.⁴³ After 1913, with the appointment of Carrington to the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston as Curator of Prints and Drawings, the journal was published by the Boston Museum.⁴⁴ Wickenden was frequently asked by Carrington to write articles for the quarterly while it was published in America. Carrington's many letters to the artist repeatedly expressed his appreciation of Wickenden's articles and, just as frequently, recognized the pecuniary sacrifice of the artist in so doing.⁴⁵

Wickenden contributed eleven articles on major and minor artists of the Barbizon School. His principal subjects - Charles-François Daubigny, Jean-François Millet, Jean-Baptiste Camille Corot, Charles Jacque, Paul-Adolphe Rajon - were the same artists whose themes and techniques Wickenden had emulated in his own production and whose work he had collected and sold. Recurrent themes, evident when the articles are viewed as a whole, echo the art practise of Wickenden as an artist.

Despite their presence in a journal directed to print collectors⁴⁶, Wickenden does not focus solely on the print production of the artists. In all instances, he introduces a considerable amount of biographical data.⁴⁷ Of more relevance as an echo of his own art production, are the frequent references to typical themes and

atmospheric effects found in the prints that recur in watercolours, drawings and oils.⁴⁸ He notes the instances of prints preceding paintings⁴⁹, and the opposite process of paintings reinterpreted as prints.⁵⁰ Consequently, the articles underline my conclusion stated earlier that most artists at the end of the nineteenth-century who were active as master printmakers were equally active as painters. One interest did not preclude the other. Rather painting and printmaking were intimately interrelated.

The analysis of these artists' printmaking reflects the position of the author as a practising artist. Wickenden writes very specifically of the artists' methods, for example presenting Corot as an artist who dealt with "the large masses first " and then "worked in sufficient detail to explain and complete his meaning".⁵¹ Similarly he attempts to define those details that distinguish the artist's individual style.⁵² Frequent reference is made to process - the act of drawing on paper, the act of etching or drawing on the plate or stone, the preparation and reworking of plates for printing, and the act of printing - rather than concentrating solely on the finished product. The most extended passages in this respect occur in the article on Louis Marvy, precisely because little biographical data was known.⁵³ Unfortunately, the analysis rarely relates to specific prints because it was the journal's practise to accept articles and afterwards find suitable prints for illustration.⁵⁴

Wickenden also reveals a keen interest in the place of production, the specific locale in nature, but most particularly the studio as a working setting for the creation of art, as a place of process. He relates Corot's habit of continually humming while he

worked, striking a parallel between art and music.⁵⁵ In some instances, he was able to draw on his first-hand experience of a particular studio, relating for example, visits to Rajon's studio at Auvers where he watched the artist test various states on an etching press.⁵⁶ Similarly, he had intimate knowledge of Daubigny's studio at Auvers because he had rented it for a season.⁵⁷ He reveals his access to artists' circles by drawing on personal conversation with a model of Corot⁵⁸ and a student of Daubigny.⁵⁹

While the overall tone and interest of the articles is sustained by Wickenden's position as an artist, he does not neglect the usual tasks of the art critic and historian. He identifies favourite or typical themes and subjects of the various artists and also distinguishes between different periods of their careers. At times, Wickenden addresses his readers directly and specifically as collectors, dropping small words of advice or singling out certain proofs that will be of particular interest.⁶⁰ The writings also reveal the wide range of Wickenden's own reading on art and literature. There are numerous references to the writings of critics and other authors, art journal articles on specific artists revealing the breadth of his own knowledge of art literature. Specific parallels are made between art and literature, with references to the Greek classics, Victor Hugo, Tennyson, Emerson, and Whitman among others. He also adopts the most fundamental gesture of a critic by making judgements about the artists and their place in history. There is no doubt in his mind, that the artists of the Barbizon School represent a high point in the history of art.⁶¹

Notwithstanding their independence of academic methods and a generous breadth in their choice of subjects, the men of 1830 benefited largely by the classic and conservative traditions out of which they advanced to a more intimate study of nature; and from a well-balanced union of the ideal with the real resulted those rare qualities that assure this gifted group a permanent and honored place in the annals of modern art.⁶²

As Wickenden has judged the place of the Barbizon artists in his view of history, similarly his place in the critical body of print literature must be determined. From a contemporary point of view, he is still cited as an authority on the lesser known artists of the Barbizon school, such as Charles Jacque, Louis Marvy, Gavarni, August Raffet and Paul Rajon. He is cited less frequently, but quoted on occasion nevertheless, on the major figures like Millet, Daubigny and Corot primarily because there is such a wealth of sources to draw on.⁶³ From the viewpoint of his own contemporaries, Wickenden's writings were a valuable source of information and the object of some admiration. FitzRoy Carrington who lectured at Harvard University in addition to his duties at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston and with The Print Collector's Quarterly wrote:

You will be glad to hear that your series on the 1830 Men is the greatest value to my Harvard students. Indeed, for my this year's course they do not need reading outside what you have said! You may be immortalized by a bronze bust on the Campus yet.⁶⁴

Of considerable disappointment to Wickenden and a negative factor in his place in posterity, was the exclusion of his five articles on the Men of 1830⁶⁵ from the book Prints and Their Makers, edited by

FitzRoy Carrington for The Century Company in 1914. Although originally slated for inclusion, the book proved too lengthy, and the articles were cut with the intention of using them as the core of a second volume. Unfortunately for Wickenden, the second volume never materialized.

Wickenden made full use of his complementary copies of The Print Collector's Quarterly to keep in touch with possible patrons and other figures in the art world. His list at times included Emmanuel Bénézit in Paris, the Rector of Laval University, G. M. Fairchild in Quebec, John Fair in Montreal, and artist friends like Carroll Beckwith and R. M. Shurtleff. Whereas in earlier periods, he had occasionally sent a print to such people, now he sent the printed word. The need was always the same. Robert Wickenden was always seeking new commissions, new buyers, and new markets.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1. Such advantages and disadvantages resemble the life of portrait artists in the early nineteenth century. Neil Harris, The Artist in American Society: The Formative Years 1790-1860 (New York: Braziller, 1966) 70-72 discusses just these points under the heading "The Burden of Portraiture".
2. Around the spring of 1911, the Wickendens sold their farm in the Elmwood District near Bethel, Conn. and moved to a house at 43 East Street in Bethel (known as the house of Miss Maria Parloa). In early 1919, they sold again and moved to 10 Tower Place, Danbury, Conn. In the fall of 1921, Robert and Ada moved again, this time to 69 Bay 17th Street, Brooklyn. By 1924, they were living at 33 Willow Street, and by 1928 at 36 Garden Place, both located in Brooklyn, N.Y. At his death in 1931, Wickenden (predeceased by his wife, Ada) lived alone at 18 Garden Place, Brooklyn.
3. William Brymner, Royal Canadian Academy of Art, Montreal, letter to Wickenden, July 11, 1915. Brymner thanked Wickenden very much "for the help you gave us in Quebec". This suggests that Wickenden still at this date, despite his American residency, could exercise more influence in the art world of Quebec City than the Royal Canadian Academy executive. A letter from Brymner to Wickenden, February 7, 1915, had asked Wickenden to "put in a word here and there" for us.
4. The exhibition was held during March, April, and May of 1907 at the Lenox Library Building at Fifth Avenue and Seventieth Street, New York. A letter from the Director of the New York Public Library to Robert Wickenden, c/o Messrs. F. Keppel & Co., New York, April 14, 1906 asked the artist to donate some of his prints to the institution's collection, which Wickenden did (19 lithographs). The letter read in part:
 "The New York Public Library has established a department of prints which is at present located in the Lenox Building, a thoroughly fireproof structure, and which is under the care of a careful and skilled curator [Frank Weitenkamp]. Special accommodations are provided for in the plans of the New Building for the Library now in the course of construction on Fifth Avenue.

"This department already contains over 30,000 fine prints, including the famous Avery Collection of 19,000 pieces. It has made special efforts to acquire work by American artists and the present exhibition, for which an invitation is enclosed, is designed mainly to give an indication of what has been accomplished and what is still to be done. Numerous donations from artists, collectors and publishers have brought our collection of American etchings so near to a point of relative completeness that it seems most desirable to supply all deficiencies in order that it may form an entirely worthy presentation of the art."

5. For unknown reasons, Wickenden turned down the opportunity to include his work with that of Carroll Beckwith in an exhibition held at The John Herron Art Institute, Art Association of Indianapolis held during October 1911. (Milton Mather, Acting Director of the Institute, letter to Wickenden, Château Frontenac, Quebec, September 13, 1911).

There is a lengthy gap in Wickenden's exhibition history during 1912-1913 as he was in England executing a life-sized, commissioned portrait of the recently deceased King Edward VII for the Nova Scotia government legislative building. Another gap occurs towards the end of the First World War when he was stationed in France as an officer with the American Red Cross.

The portrait of King Edward VII, in civil dress, hangs in the second floor gallery of Province House, Halifax, N.S. A second life-size portrait of the King in Field-Marshal's uniform wearing state decorations and robes, hangs in Moyse Hall, McGill University, Montreal, a gift of the artist's children.

6. Peter Bermingham, American Art in the Barbizon Mood, 73, has observed that in the 1880s the first substantial build-up of art collections away from the Boston-New York axis included extraordinary holdings of paintings of the Barbizon artists. He specifically mentions Philadelphia, St. Louis and Chicago.

7. For example, Wickenden was commissioned by James Scripps, a patron from the 1880s and 1890s, to paint his portrait in 1904, and a replica of the portrait several years later. One copy remained with the Scripps family while the other is on permanent display at the entrance to The Detroit Institute of Arts (Fig.4).

Similarly, Wickenden continued to exhibit with the commercial gallery, James Wilson & Co., Ottawa for many years. He also continued to correspond with G. M. Fairchild in Quebec City, John Fair in Montreal, and the artist Carroll Beckwith until the latter's death in 1917.

8. Beckwith, c/o Hotel Campbell, Paris, letter to Wickenden, Bethel, Conn., January 18, 1912. The Beckwiths were living in Europe and planning to return to the United States soon.

9. In the summer of 1916, for example, Wickenden was trying to sell a complete sketchbook of Charles-François Daubigny, as well as a painting and drawings by Corot, and other items to the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. In the end Edward W. Forbes of the Museum bought nine leaves of the Daubigny sketchbook for \$45.00 and Study of Horses by Charles Jacque for \$15.00. FitzRoy Carrington, Curator of Prints at The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston had helped Wickenden make the contact after he failed to interest his own museum in making purchases. (Carrington, letters to Wickenden, July 14, 1916 and July 17, 1916; Edward W. Forbes, letters to Carrington, July 13, 1916 and August 12, 1916.)

Wickenden's attitude to the difficulties in selling Barbizon art (and in fact, his own art as well) in North America is revealed in a letter to Carrington, July 15, 1916, when the sale still seemed uncertain. "People here only appreciate the conventional and commercial forms of art, and as the more personal and intimate examples are understood by a comparatively small circle, it is not worthwhile to send them [Daubigny's sketchbooks] further afield. If fate decrees their resting with me in spite of my plan to find them a more appropriate home, I shall certainly welcome them...."

10. Part I. Paintings, Drawings, Engravings and Etchings The Property of the Well-known Painter Robert J. Wickenden. (New York: The Anderson Auction Company, 1910). March 31 and April 1, 1910. Part II. Studio Effects Collected During Many Years' Artistic Life in France and America by the Well-known Painter Robert J. Wickenden. April 23, 1910.

11. Wickenden did not move his family back to Europe at this time although he was obviously seriously considering doing so. His only extended stay in Europe was from October 1912 (passage on S. S.

Scotian from Montreal on October 13) to August 1913 in London, England to execute a commissioned portrait of King Edward VII. He returned to North America via St. John's, Newfoundland on August 27, and went on to Halifax on August 28 for the first public hanging of the King's portrait.

Robert and Ada Wickenden seemed to retain a nostalgia for their years at Auvers-sur-Oise. It represented, despite its hardships, an ideal period in their life. They were close to Paris and the art world, they enjoyed the stimulation of a circle of friends of all nationalities active in the art world, they profited from the inexpensive cost of living, and they were in the countryside surrounded by motifs that Wickenden like to paint.

12. "Note", Paintings, Drawings, Engravings and Etchings, the Property of the Well-known Painter Robert J. Wickenden, not paginated.

The link between the value of the work offered and the aura of the artist received further confirmation in the press. "...Mr. Robert J. Wickenden is selling a number of his paintings and a larger collections of sketches, drawings and prints from other hands, the studio accumulations of nearly thirty years. It is in the sale of these casual souvenirs of an artist's life that the sale is most attractive." (Untitled clipping, The New York Tribune, March 30, 1910.)

13. "Landscapes of Canada Shown," The New York Herald, March 31, 1910.

14. Ibid.

15. This panel was purchased by Manuge Galleries, Halifax, N.S. in 1979. Early in 1989, it was purchased by a private collector. It is not known how much Van Horne paid for the oil panel. The only record of sales notes that 70 pictures were sold for about \$2,000.00. ("In the Art Galleries," The New York Herald, April 1, 1910.)

16. "Sale of Wickenden Collection," The Evening Post (New York), March 31, 1910.

17. The two artists shared a studio at 74 rue Notre-Dame des Champs, Paris from 1873-1878.

18. "Sale of Wickenden Collection".

19. Information from "Sale of Wickenden Collection" and also the auction catalogue.

20. "The Designers of Japanese Colour Prints," Art Association of Montreal, February 8, 1908.

21. Evidence of the experimental character of this lithograph is the reverse printing of the artist's signature in the lower right corner.

22. At the time Wickenden was commissioned to make the etched copy of the panel, it was owned by John F. Gleeson, a real estate broker in Saint John, New Brunswick and other unnamed individuals. In cleaning the picture during the summer of 1910, J. Purves Carter discovered Dürer's signature. (Wickenden, letter to Gleeson, August 30, 1910.)

J. Purves Carter was a British artist as well as a restorer and art expert. Before coming to Canada, he had done supervised restoration work at the National Gallery, London, as well as working on the collections of Earl Spencer, Spencer House, London, England, and of Mrs. George F. Bradley in Washington, D. C.

In Canada early in the twentieth century, Carter worked (attributions and restoration) on the collections of many branches of the Roman Catholic Church in Eastern Canada, including the Archbishop's Palace in Halifax, N. S., the Bishop's Palace in Saint John, N. B., and the Séminaire de Québec. He also worked on the collection of J. F. Gleeson, finding that paintings in the collection were masterpieces by Guido Reni and Andrea del Sarto. Carter had a knack for obtaining publicity for his "sensational" discoveries ("J. Purves Carter Describes in Detail Some of the Magnificent Paintings He Discovered Here", The Telegraph [Saint John, N.B.], undated clipping), though his discoveries and restoration work are now considered questionable. His discoveries were usually miraculously uncovered during the cleaning of otherwise mundane paintings. (Some of this information is derived from G. M. Fairchild, "Famous Artist and Laval Pictures" in The Great Picture Frauds [Québec: Laflamme & Proulx, 1909], 14-15.)

It is not known exactly how Wickenden and Carter first met, but it would seem most logical that it was through mutual acquaintances in Quebec City.

23. Wickenden, Bethel, Conn., letter to Messrs. John F. Gleeson and others, Proprietors and Owners of the Painting of the Blessed Thomas More by Albrecht Dürer, September 24, 1910. These terms were accepted. (John F. Gleeson, Secretary, Dominion Exhibition, Saint John, N. B., letter to Wickenden, Halifax, October 19, 1910.)
24. Wickenden, The Birchdale, Northwest Arm, Halifax, N. S., letter to My Dear and Right Reverend Lord (Bishop Casey), October 17, 1910.
25. Memorandum on the Recently Discovered Portrait of Sir Thomas More. Private printing, 1911. Introduction by The Most Reverend Timothy Casey, D. D., Bishop of Saint John, N. B. "Notes on the Recently Discovered Portrait of Sir Thomas More by Albrecht Dürer" by Robert J. Wickenden. (A copy of the booklet is in the library of the National Archives of Canada, Ottawa.)
26. Wickenden, letter to Casey, October 17, 1910.
27. Frederick Keppel Galleries was agent for the distribution and sale of the More etchings.
28. Wickenden is using "artist's proof" here to refer to the first de luxe proofs to be printed on Japanese vellum, signed and with "remarque". His usage differs from the accepted use of the term today.
29. Religious communities; i.e., convents and seminaries.
30. Wickenden, Bethel, Conn., letter to J. F. Gleeson, December 12, 1910. The copper plate at this time was ready for printing. Peter J. Platt, the fine art printer located at 91 Barclay Street, New York, had suggested slightly steeling the plate from the outset in order to "protect its finer qualities". It seems that the final edition was about 250 proofs.
 Frederick Ker also suggested the services of Peter J. Platt (1859-1934) to David Milne. Platt's "career as a printer for artists lasted nearly fifty years, and his printing shop...was an important centre for printmakers" including John Sloan. (Rosemarie L. Tovell, Reflections in a Quiet Pool: The Prints of David Milne [Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1980] 35.)

31. E. J. Phillips, "Restoration of a Great Art Treasure," The Globe (Toronto), January 28, 1911: 27. Phillips who was a cousin of Wickenden apparently worked on the art collection of Laval University, from about 1911. Robert Wickenden painted Phillips' portrait with his two grandchildren, Betty and Leonard Jarvis, c. 1925.
32. Gleeson's financial defaults eventually led to the More painting becoming the sole property of George A. Dostal, New York, around 1915. Dostal at this time was seeking Wickenden's help in finding a buyer for the work.
33. This evidently never happened as a letter between two of the artist's sons after his death discusses the possibility of selling proofs of the More etching. (Jean Wickenden, letter to Albert Wickenden, February 27, 1935.)
34. Wickenden, 43 East St., Bethel, letter to Mr. Dostal, March 1, 1918. Wickenden urged haste in selling if he wanted help as he was about to be posted to France with the American Red Cross.
35. Frederick Keppel & Co., New York, letter to Wickenden, Bethel, November 2, 1914. The Gallery asked for Wickenden's opinion on Millet's drawings of Little Red Robin Hood, on display at the New York Public Library.
The Anderson Galleries, Inc., Madison at Fortieth St., New York, letter to Wickenden, December 14, 1916. "There is a painting here in town by Corot on which we would like to secure your expert opinion. Can you arrange to come to New York, at our expense...."
- Wickenden also gave a number of paid lectures on Art. He spoke in 1907 at the Institute of Arts and Sciences, Columbia University, New York and also gave talks to groups, like the Literary and Historical Society in Quebec City and community service groups, and at museums such as the Art Association of Montreal.
36. William Aspinwall Bradley, "Frederick Keppel," Art and Progress (Washington, D. C.) 3 (August 1912): 677. "...His lectures, articles, exhibitions and gifts of prints to museums and libraries all bore relation in his mind to a liberal and well-defined policy of enlightenment."

37. Catalogue of an Exhibition of Drawings and Etchings by Daubigny. With an introduction by Robert J. Wickenden. (New York: Frederick Keppel, 1907.)

Catalogue of an Exhibition of Prints of the Barbizon School. With an introduction by Robert J. Wickenden. (New York: Frederick Keppel, 1925.)

Wickenden's last published writings were a series of entries for the Dictionary of American Biography (New York: Scribner's, 1929). His essays on Thomas Pollock Anshutz, Robert Frederick Blum, James Carroll Beckwith, John William Casilear, William Merritt Chase, Frederick Edwin Church, Kenyon Cox, and Thomas Cole were based on research combined with knowledge of their oeuvre and a personal acquaintance with those artists who were his contemporaries.

38. He refers to Jean-François Millet ("head of the list"), Corot, Daubigny, Charles Jacque, Camille Pissarro ("a connecting link between the Romantics and the Impressionists"), Adolphe Appian, and Bracquemond.

39. Catalogue of an Exhibition of Prints of the Barbizon School, 3.

40. Ibid., 5.

41. "During his long career Koehler was curator of the graphic arts section of the United States National Museum in Washington, D. C., curator of prints at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and author of numerous publications. But it was mainly through his editing of The American Art Review (1879-1891) that he gave impetus to the American etching movement. This scholarly periodical put etching in the forefront, featuring monthly articles on American etchers, and publishing one or more original etchings in each issue. (Rona Schneider, "The American Etching Revival: Its French Sources and Early Years," The American Art Journal XIV,4 [Autumn 1982]: 40-65.)

42. Keppel was quite prolific in his own writing on prints. In addition to magazine articles, he published pamphlets such as Hints on the Framing of Etchings, and a book entitled, The Golden Age of Engraving (New York: Baker & Taylor, 1910).

43. James Watrous, American Printmaking: A Century of American Printmaking 1880-1980, 31.

44. Ibid. After the move, even less attention was given American printmakers. February 1913 was the first issue published under the auspices of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. The publishing of the journal moved to Houghton Mifflin from the Museum early in 1914. Following its suspension partway through World War I, the journal was restarted in England during 1921 with Campbell Dodgson as Editor. Dodgson was Keeper of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum in London and a member of the Royal Society of Painters, Etchers and Engravers. Carrington became the North American Editor. Carrington was also a lecturer at Harvard University on the History and Principles of Engraving.

45. Wickenden received \$50.00 for each article, considerably less than he had received for his 1892 article on Daubigny. (See following note.)

46. In writing for The Print Collector's Quarterly, Wickenden would have reached a considerably smaller audience than he did publishing in general interest magazines like The Century Magazine ("Charles-François Daubigny," July 1892: 323-337) or Scribner's Magazine ("The Portraits of Carroll Beckwith," April 1910: 449-460), both of which had a wide circulation. Moreover, a print journal would reach fewer readers than an art journal of a more general nature, for print collectors were considerably fewer in number than collectors of paintings.

47. The only article in which the presentation of biographical data is limited is "Louis Marvy 1815-1890," The Print Collector's Quarterly 29,2 (April 1942): 208-235. Wickenden explains that since few biographical details were known about Marvy, it has been necessary to study first Marvy's etchings and illustrations and then, to combine them with isolated remarks by Marvy's contemporaries in order to reconstruct biographical data. (Henceforward, unless stated otherwise, all articles cited are from The Print Collector's Quarterly.)

48. Fifty per cent of Wickenden's own print production was executed after his oil paintings of the same theme. Roger Passeron,

Impressionist Prints (Secaucus, N. J.: The Wellfleet Press, 1974) 38, points out the dependence of printmaking methods and output on painting found among artists of the generations of Millet, Jongkind and Manet. He observes that printmaking for its own sake displaying a "free and independent inspiration" came later with the generation of Toulouse-Lautrec, Matisse, Villon, and Picasso.

While Wickenden did not slavishly copy the Barbizon artists, he does echo many of their themes and interest in atmospheric effects. In theme, La Rentrée du Troupeau (Cat. 10) shows an awareness of prints by Jacque, like L'Arrivée au Champ and Troupeau du Porcs, reproduced on pages 86 and 96 of his article, "Charles Jacque (1813-1894)", 2,1 (February 1912). Similarly Daubigny's interest in the depiction of a particular time of day (A Flock of Sheep, illustrated in "Charles-François Daubigny," The Century Magazine XLIV,3 [July 1892]: 334) is reinterpreted in Wickenden's The Harvest Moon (Cat.11).

49. For example, "Charles-François Daubigny Painter and Etcher," 3,2 (April 1913). "Marsh with Storks, by Daubigny from the 1850-1860 period was not reinterpreted by the artist as an oil painting until 1873.", p. 198. Also p. 201, "The Sheepfold Morning of 1860 was the subject of Daubigny's Salon painting the following year".

50. For example, "The Art and Etchings of Jean-François Millet," 2,2 (April 1912): 238, refers to Millet's practice. "Most of the subjects he treated in the relatively few plates etched with a view to publication, had already seen the light in paintings or drawings, which in their turn had been preceded by numerous studies. So that when Millet re-created them as etchings he knew them 'by heart' and could draw them on the copper without hesitation or 'fumbling'."

51. "Le Père Corot," 2,3 (October 1912): 374. This article was reproduced in its entirety in booklet form (2,000 copy edition) by The Far Gallery, New York, in 1962.

52. Ibid., 376. "Corot's drawing was not of the highly polished, academic kind, but it was suited to his manner. The planes, perspective, and important characteristics were all carefully noted, though he never sacrificed the dominating sentiment to dry, mechanical precision."

53. Carrington insisted on a minimum article length of 3,000 words to maintain an adequate ratio between text and images, therefore, Wickenden could not use as much space for biographical facts as in some of the other articles. (Carrington, letter to Wickenden, November 7, 1911.)

54. Carrington's letters to Wickenden often underlined this point, suggesting that Wickenden just as frequently raised the issue and that he would have preferred to structure his text more specifically to the illustrations of the prints.

55. "In the studio his brush often kept time to some favorite air, which was thus absorbed and expressed in graphic form; and the penetrating charm of many of his pictures is because they are painted music!" "Le Père Corot," 380.

56. "Paul Adolphe Rajon (1842-1888)," 6,4 (December 1916): 426. Also 422 and 424.

57. "Charles-François Daubigny Painter and Etcher," 205.

58. "An old Parisian model who had worked a great deal for Corot once told me that it was the master's dearest ambition to succeed as a painter of figures, and that he bestowed endless labor to this end." ("Le Père Corot," 378.)

59. "Martin Rico, the Spanish master of landscape and Venetian views, told me that many years later, when as a student he sought the advice of Daubigny, he was sent to study the severe landscapes by Poussin at the Louvre." ("Charles-François Daubigny Painter and Etcher," 194.)

60. For example, he pays heed to the investment aspect of collecting. "It would well repay a collector having the time and means, to attempt the bringing together of these rare and interesting early etchings [from the 1840-1844 period] of Daubigny, combining as they do the most careful workmanship with an idyllic suggestion that pervades all his work." (Charles-François Daubigny Painter and Etcher," 197.)

61. While his comments are mostly restrained, it is evident that Wickenden did not subscribe to current art trends. He says that Daubigny's "apparent freedom of technique and effective composition were based on a thorough knowledge of established conventions, which later impressionists have sometimes seemed to ignore." ("Charles-François Daubigny Painter and Etcher," 185.)

Another example reads, "In these days of 'ists' and 'isms' it is refreshing to turn aside for a time to the contemplation of these drawings [by Millet]. Their sane and classic serenity is reassuring as we experience again the pleasure and profit that communion with genius of this 'Michelangelo of the glebe' always afford." ("Millet's Drawings at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston," 4,1 [February 1914]: 30.)

62. "The Men of 1830," 3,1 (February 1913): 113, 115.

63. Specific examples were given in the Introduction, Note 17.

64. Carrington, letter to Wickenden, October 23, 1916.

65. "Charles Jacque," "The Art and Etchings of Jean-François Millet," and "Le Père Corot," all from 1912; also "Charles-François Daubigny Painter and Etcher," and "The Men of 1830," both from 1913.

CONCLUSION

Robert J. Wickenden enjoyed a long and varied career. His interests and activities were diverse as he embraced photography, oil painting, watercolour painting, printmaking, collecting, selling, teaching, researching, and writing both in succession and simultaneously. While in France during the 1890s, he drew on his intellectual and visual interest in prints to participate wholeheartedly in the burst of interest in lithography. He overcame the isolation experienced by many North American artist-expatriates in the international art world - befriending Souza-Pinto, and Seiguer among others, sharing a Paris studio with Ulpiano Checa, witnessing the pulling of prints in the Auvers-sur-Oise studio of Paul-Adolphe Rajon, and accepting the warm invitation of Henry Hamel to join the Société des Peintres-Lithographes, to name but a few specifics. Nonetheless, his European sojourn was only a quest for official recognition and honours that could be used to gain a foothold in the North American market.¹ Revenue from his own production was always supplemented, and often surpassed, by the income derived as a dealer in prints and paintings. In other words, his activity as a dealer often gave him the means to pursue, rather than abandon, his career as an artist.

Spurred on by a disastrous auction of his own personal art collection, Wickenden set off in a new direction in 1896 to a new country. In Canada he, in some measure, sustained his interest in lithography but the new locale brought changes. The lithographs became as much an element of advertising the subject depicted as

they were an original expression of art. A move to the United States occasioned more change. His own print production tapered to nil and the last example of his printing skill was blatantly used to

increase the value of a claimed old master painting. When given the opportunity, Wickenden shared his knowledge of the prints by the Barbizon artists - writing some exhibition catalogues for Frederick Keppel Galleries and articles for The Print Collector's Quarterly. He once said, "I take the work that comes to hand and do the best I

can."² His involvement with the print revival certainly bears out this statement. In doing so, his commitment to prints mirrored the larger framework and activity of his career, taken as a whole.

In analyzing the career of an artist like Robert Wickenden, the advice of James Ackerman leads to a better understanding of the complexities and layering of the art world at a moment in history than does the credo of modernism and its search for the new and unorthodox.

We must avoid the tendency of Hegelian art history to take the influence exerted by an artist or a work of art as a primary measure of his or its worth.³

Wickenden's creativity was broadly-based, conservative, uncomplicated and unassuming. He followed tradition, aligning himself with the principles of the Barbizon artists from the outset of his career in the 1880s to its close in 1931. Nevertheless, his letters and writings never convey any hint that he regarded his own art as conservative in relation to the avant-garde. For Wickenden all art was elitist and therefore, understood only by a gifted few. He did not equate avant-garde art with art for this elite.

His best lithographs from the 1890s, like La Rentrée du Troupeau and The Rise of the Harvest Moon reflected an interest in the light and atmospheric effects of a particular time of day, and the recording of daily life in the landscape. His portraits of the same period concentrated on the essence of the person depicted and made sensitive use of the lithographic medium. Wickenden was not swayed by the latest trend or fashion in art, preferring to stick with his chosen path regardless of the inevitable financial hills and valleys it brought. His connections with important private collectors, like James E. Scripps and Charles Lang Freer, both of Detroit, and Sir William Van Horne of Montreal, left an anonymous imprint on their collections but gave only a small boost to the advancement of his own career.

Throughout his working life, Wickenden found an appreciative audience for his work, enjoying recognition of his emerging talent in the early years and praise in the press during his middle and late years. At times, when viewed in retrospect, his career prompts a reflective questioning along the lines of "what if he had followed this path?". What else can be made of the following review written when the artist was 63 years old?

Robert Wickenden, whose reputation as a lithographer has been kept under a bushel as far as the Brooklyn public is concerned, exhibits too. Mr. Wickenden won many honors for his lithographs during his long residence abroad. His "Notre Dame" now on view, but executed while he lived in Paris, has a distinctive quality which we do not often see in present day lithography. The blacks are black, but blacks crossed with light; we

can see into them and feel that here are air and space. The only lights in the composition are the moonlit sky and the lanterns about the doorway; the rest is in varying degrees of black. It is a splendid accomplishment as well as being an individual manipulation of the stone.⁴

Despite talent and promise, Wickenden remained a minor artist and a minor dealer. Although he had students, he had no substantial body of followers. Although he held many exhibitions, he never had more orders for pictures than he could fill. Although technically proficient, he was not part of the avant-garde. Although he sold dozens of prints and paintings to major and minor North American collectors, his transactions have remained essentially private, buried in his own papers and records. Although his press clippings are extensive, today he remains largely unknown.

And yet, his career and his wide-ranging concerns mirror those of a myriad of artists at any moment in history. If he is unique, it stems only from his choice to juggle so many diverse art activities simultaneously in so many different geographical locations. There is, however, no combination of art activities embraced by Wickenden that was not followed by other artists, struggling to survive in a profession that offered few financial rewards to the majority of its practitioners. It is for this reason that Robert Wickenden in his role in the late nineteenth-century print revival can be considered a paradigm of a minor artist. Moreover, his career demonstrates that the print revival was not solely the domain of a few major figures. It was sustained by a myriad of artists working in a variety of styles.

NOTES TO CONCLUSION

1. Generally North American artists stayed among themselves, both socially and professionally, and faced a certain degree of prejudice in the European art market. This type of innate bias is evident in a letter from Vincent Van Gogh to his mother, written June 13, 1890 from Auvers-sur-Oise. "...Il y a beaucoup de peintres ici, dans le village. Tout près de moi, toute une famille d'Américains [he is referring to Robert Wickenden and his family] qui, jour après jour, sont à peindre; mais je n'ai encore rien vu de leur travail, et en général c'est sans consistance." (Georges Charenol, ed., Correspondance Complète de Vincent Van Gogh [Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1960] Tome 3, 476.)
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"Spring Exhibition Opened Last Night." Herald (Montreal), March 9, 1901.

"Spring Exhibition Private View." The Montreal Gazette, March 9, 1901.

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"Student Life of Paris, R.J. Wickenden on This Phase of an Artist's Career."

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Untitled clipping. The Quarterly Illustrator 1,2 (April-June 1893): 139-140.

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Untitled clipping. Revue des Beaux-Arts, le 1 juillet, 1893.

Untitled clipping. Revue des Beaux-Arts, le 19 juillet, 1893.

Untitled clipping. Moniteur des arts, le 29 juin, 1893.

Untitled clipping. Journal des Arts, le 29 juin, 1893.

Untitled clipping. Le Figaro, le 18 juillet, 1893.

Untitled clipping. Moniteur des Arts, le 20 juillet, 1893.

Untitled clipping. Journal des Arts, le 28 juillet, 1893.

- Untitled clipping. Journal des Arts, le 24 août, 1893.
- Untitled clipping. The Times (Brooklyn, N.Y.), October 27, 1894.
- Untitled clipping. Brooklyn Daily Eagle, October 38, 1894.
- Untitled clipping. The Post (New York), November 3, 1894.
- Untitled clipping. New York Recorder, November 11, 1894.
- Untitled clipping. Republican (Springfield, Mass.), November 16, 1894.
- Untitled clipping. Illustrated American (New York), November 17, 1894.
- Unidentified clipping. Beaux Arts, le 22 juillet, (No year given).
- Untitled clipping. Echo Pontoisien, le 11 juin, 1898.
- Untitled clipping. The Daily Mercury (Quebec), January 24, 1899.
- Untitled clipping. Eclair (Paris), May 1, 1899.
- Untitled clipping. The Witness (Montreal), March 13, 1901.
- Untitled clipping. Quebec Daily Telegraph, October 10, 1901.
- Untitled clipping. The Quebec Mercury, August 11, 1902.
- Untitled clipping. New York Tribune, March 30, 1910.
- Untitled clipping. The Globe (New York), April 23, 1910.
- Untitled clipping. The Montreal Daily Star, March 24, 1916.
- Untitled clipping. La Presse, March 25, 1916.
- Untitled clipping. Brooklyn Daily Eagle, September 15, 1929: 10.

APPENDIX A: CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ OF THE PRINTS OF ROBERT J. WICKENDEN

Abbreviations:

l.l. = lower left

u.l. = upper left

l.r. = lower right

u.r. = upper right

Sheldon 1888 = George William Sheldon. Recent Ideals of American Art. New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1977 reprint of 1888 edition.

Hamerton 1896 = Philip Gilbert Hamerton and Eugene Hamerton. An Autobiography 1834-1858 and a Memoir By His Wife 1858-1894. Boston: Roberts Bros., 1896.

Artist's notes = Notes made by Robert J. Wickenden for the New York Public Library, May 1906 on its collection of his prints.

Anderson 1910 = Paintings, Drawings, Engravings and Etchings, The Property of the Well-Known Painter Robert J. Wickenden. New York: The Anderson Auction Co., 1910.

Laberge 1938 = Albert Laberge. Peintres et Ecrivains d'Hier et d'Aujourd'hui. Montréal: Edition Privée, 1938.

Note: Under "Exhibitions", the citation of a gallery name or location indicates a solo exhibition of Robert J. Wickenden's work.

1. APPROACH OF EVENING/L'APPROCHE DU SOIR

1891

Transfer lithograph on India paper. Imp. 13 x 21.8 cm. Paper: 26.8 x 33 cm.

Inscription: l.l. Robt J. Wickenden

Some impressions have the following poem by Robert Wickenden hand-written on the lower border.

The Grain that is ready to fall/The day that is ready to die/The valley that soon must be passed/And the cross, ever lifted on high. Let me patiently wait by the cross/The end of my journey is near/Though night with its darkness surround/God is nigh...no evil I fear.

Notes: Two states. One hundred impressions. Locale is Chemin du Moutier, not far from the Wickenden house at Auvers-sur-Oise.

1. APPROACH OF EVENING/L'APPROCHE DU SOIR...cont'd.

Related Work: A painting of the same title, depicting a scene near Wickenden's home at Auvers-sur-Oise, 19 3/4" x 32", was exhibited at the Paris Salon 1889, and purchased from the artist by James E. Scripps of Detroit in 1895.

Collections: New York Public Library, 38141.

Detroit Institute of Arts, 09.1S1249. Autograph signature and inscription of the artist.

Musée du Séminaire de Québec, 917. Lower margin, poem and "A mon très cher ami l'Abbé H. R. Casgrain - Noël 1896.

Private collection, Montreal. One proof with poem, 3 proofs without.

Exhibitions: Robert J. Wickenden Exhibition, Galleries of the Chicago Society of Artists, November 16-28, 1891.

Chicago Society of Artists Fourth Annual Exhibition of Black and White, February 1892.

Salon de la Société des Artistes Français, Paris, 1893, #4203.

Frederick Keppel Galleries, New York, November 1894.

Hanna & Noyes, Detroit, January 1895, #38.

Le Nouvel Hôtel de Ville, Québec, November 1896, #44.

Château Frontenac, Québec, January 24-28, 1899, #47.

Anderson Art Galleries, New York, 1910 - 2 states, one signed by the artist, offered at auction.

Athenaeum Annex Gallery, Hartford, Conn., December 17-29, 1916, #67.

References: Sheldon 1888, 125-130, discusses the painting of the same subject.

Anderson 1910, 31.

Laberge 1938, 87.

2. A TWILIGHT PASTORAL 1891

Transfer lithograph. Imp. 14 x 20.2 cm. Paper 28 X 34.6 cm.

Inscription: l.l. Robt. J. Wickenden

Notes: About 100 impressions. Two states, one on India paper. (Boy with flute)

Related work: An oil painting of this subject was executed earlier by Wickenden.

Collections: New York Public Library, 38142.

Private collection, Montreal. Two proofs of second state, mounted.

2. A TWILIGHT PASTORAL...cont'd.

Exhibitions: Robert J. Wickenden Exhibition, Galleries of the Chicago Society of Artists, November 16-28, 1891.

Chicago Society of Artists Fourth Annual Exhibition in Black and White, February 1892.

Salon de la Société des Artistes Français, Paris, 1893, #4203.

Frederick Keppel Galleries, New York, November 1894.

Hanna & Noyes, Detroit, January 1895, #39.

Le Nouvel Hôtel de Ville, Québec, November 1896, #45.

Château Frontenac, Québec, January 24-28, 1899, #49.

Anderson Art Galleries, New York, 1910 - 2 states, signed by artist, offered at auction.

Athenaeum Annex Gallery, Hartford, Conn., December 17-29, 1917, #69.

References: "Robert J. Wickenden," The Art Amateur 33, 2 (July 1895): 26 (illus. as The Shepherd Boy)

Anderson 1910, 31.

Laberge 1938, 87.

3. SONG OF THE ADRIATIC c.1891

Lithograph. Imp. 31.2 x 21.2 cm. Paper 36.1 x 27.4 cm.

Inscription: l.l. Robt. J. Wickenden

Notes: Signed proof on India paper. One hundred impressions.

Related Work: An oil version of the subject was executed earlier by Wickenden.

Collection: Private collection, Montreal. Two proofs, one proof of scored plate.

Exhibitions: Robert J. Wickenden Exhibition, Galleries of the Chicago Society of Artists, November 16-28, 1891.

Chicago Society of Artists Fourth Annual Exhibition of Black and White, February 1892.

Frederick Keppel Galleries, New York, November 1894.

Hanna & Noyes, Detroit, January 1895, #36.

Le Nouvel Hôtel de Ville, Québec, November 1896, #47.

Anderson Art Galleries, New York, 1910 - signed proof on India paper offered at auction.

Athenaeum Annex Gallery, Hartford, Conn., December 17-29, 1917, #70.

Reference: Anderson 1910, 30.

4. LA FILEUSE/THE SPINNER c.1891

Lithograph. Imp. 19 x 14.6 cm. Paper 35.9 x 28.3 cm.

Inscription: l.l. Robt. J. Wickenden

Notes: Two states, one on India paper. One hundred impressions.

Related Work: Watercolour version exhibited Salon de la Société des Artistes Français, Paris 1888.

Collections: Private collection, Montreal. Three proofs.

Exhibitions: Robert J. Wickenden Exhibition, Galleries of the Chicago Society of Artists, November 16-28, 1891.

Chicago Society of Artists Fourth Annual Exhibitions of Black and White, February 1892.

Salon de la Société des Artistes Français, Paris, 1893, #4203.

Frederick Keppel Galleries, New York, November 1894.

Hanna & Noyes, Detroit, January 1895.

Le Nouvel Hôtel de Ville, Québec, November 1896, #46.

Château Frontenac, Québec, January 24-28, 1899, #48.

Anderson Art Galleries, New York, 1910 - 2 states signed by artist, one on India paper offered at auction.

Athenaeum Annex Gallery, Hartford, Conn., December 17-29, 1917, #68.

References: Anderson 1910, 30.

Laberge 1938, 87, illus.

5. LA MERE PANNECAYE 1893

Transfer lithograph. Imp. 26.2 x 19.8 cm. Paper 32.8 x 25.2 cm.

Inscription: l.r. R.J.W. '93; l.l. "la Mère Panneçaye"

Notes: Fifty impressions.

Related works: Wickenden painted about 15 other works using la mère Panneçaye as a model, including the oils Le Repas du Soir and A Cup of Cold Water.

Collections: New York Public Library 1. Proof 48/50. 2. Proof 14/50, printed on different paper with inscription "To Henry Wolf from his friend Frederick Keppel"

Philadelphia Museum of Art 41-53-70.

5. LA MERE PANNECAYE...cont'd.

Exhibitions: Salon de la Société des Artistes Français, Paris, 1894, #4553.

Antwerp 1894.

Expositions Universelles de Lyon et d'Anvers 1894.

Frederick Keppel Galleries, New York, November 1894.

Hanna & Noyes, Detroit, January 1895, #31.

Exposition International du Centenaire de la Lithographie, Paris, 1895, #1381.

Le Nouvel Hôtel de Ville, Québec, November 1896, #41.

Château Frontenac, Québec, January 24-28, 1899, #44.

James Wilson & Co, Ottawa, April 21-30, 1902, #35.

Royal Canadian Academy, 1905.

Anderson Art Galleries, New York, 1910 - signed artist's proof on thin Japan paper, #21 of a very limited issue with the artist's stamp, offered at auction.

Athenaeum Annex Gallery, Hartford, Conn., December 17-29, 1917, #63.

Spring Exhibition of Ovington Group, Brooklyn, N.Y., April 1924, #13.

References: Catalogue of Etchings and Engravings. Frederick Keppel, New York, 1893.

Untitled clipping, Illustrated American (N.Y.), November 17, 1894. (illus)

Philippe Gille, "Vue d'Ensemble," Le Figaro-Lithographe. Paris: 1895.

"Le Salon de Peinture à l'Hôtel de Ville," L'Événement, le 2 novembre, 1896.

M.H. Spielmann, "Original Lithography. The Revival on the Continent," The Magazine of Art, V. 20 (January 1897): 151-152.

Frederick Keppel, The Golden Age of Engraving, 1910, 99.

Anderson 1910, 31.

"Spring Exhibition of Ovington Group," Brooklyn Life LXIX, 774 (April 12, 1924): 14 (illus).

Comte Chabrier et Gabiel Sérac, "Le Salon des Indépendants de New York...", Revue du Vrai et du Beau 79 (10 mai 1926), illus.

Frank Weitenkampf, How To Appreciate Prints, 1935 ed., 237.

6. PORTRAIT OF FREDERICK KEPPEL 1893

Transfer lithograph. Imp. 33.9 x 25.1 cm. Paper 63 x 44.9 cm.

Inscription: "To my friend Frederick Keppel. Robt. J., Wickenden. 1893." inscribed on portfolio in Keppel's lap.

6. PORTRAIT OF FREDERICK KEPPEL...cont'd.

Notes: Fifty impressions. "Mr. Keppel has stone". (Artist's notes)

Related work: 1893 oil portrait of Keppel.

Collections: New York Public Library 1.#38148. 2. Inscribed in pencil on lower margin, "Souvenir de bonne amitié à Frederick Keppel, fait à Auvers-sur-Oise, 25 juin, 1893"

Private collection, Montreal. Two proofs.

Exhibitions: Frederick Keppel Galleries, New York, November 1894.

Hanna & Noyes Gallery, Detroit, January 1895, #41.

Le Nouvel Hôtel de Ville, Québec, November 1896, #54.

Anderson Art Galleries, New York, 1910 - proof on Ven Guelder paper offered at auction.

Athenaeum Annex Gallery, Hartford, Conn., December 17-29, 1917, #73.

Reference: Anderson 1910, 31.

7. MADAME KARL DAUBIGNY

1893

Lithograph. Imp. 25 x 21.3 cm. Paper 62.5 x 44.5 cm.

Inscription: Robt. J. Wickenden 1893

Notes: Héloïse, wife of the painter Karl Daubigny.

Collection: Private collection, Montreal.

Exhibitions: Salon de la Société des Artistes Français, Paris, 1894, #4553.

Frederick Keppel Galleries, New York, November 1894.

Hanna & Noyes Gallery, Detroit, January 1895, #34.

Le Nouvel Hôtel de Ville, Québec, November 1896, #53.

Athenaeum Annex Gallery, Hartford, Conn., December 17-29, 1917, #66.

8. BERNARD DAUBIGNY

c.1893

Lithograph. Imp. 30.2 x 27 cm. Paper 48.9 x 31.8 cm.

Inscription: l.l. R.J.W. l.r. Robt. J. Wickenden

Notes: Two states, 10 proofs of second state. Son of Charles-François Daubigny, brother of Karl.

Collection: Private collection, Montreal. Proof from second state.

8. BERNARD DAUBIGNY...cont'd.

Exhibitions: Salon de la Société des Artistes Français, Paris 1894, #4553.

Frederick Keppel Galleries, New York, November 1894.

Hanna & Noyes Gallery, Detroit, January 1895, #33.

Le Nouvel Hôtel de Ville, Québec, November 1896, #51.

Athenaeum Annex Gallery, Hartford, Conn., December 17-29, 1917, #65..

9. MADAME B./MADAME BÉGON 1893

Transfer lithograph on India paper. Imp. 25 x 21.6 cm. Mounted on paper 32.6 x 31.6 cm.

Inscription: l.l. Robt J. Wickenden 1893

Notes: About 25 impressions. Mme. Bégon was the mother of Mme. Karl Daubigny, Auvers-sur-Oise, France. (Artist's notes)

Collection: New York Public Library #38146 (India paper, mounted).

Exhibitions: Salon de la Société des Artistes Français, Paris, 1894, #4553.

Frederick Keppel Galleries, New York, November 1894.

Hanna & Noyes, Detroit, January 1895, #33.

Le Nouvel Hôtel de Ville, Québec, November 1896, #49.

Athenaeum Annex Gallery, Hartford Gallery, Conn., December 17-29, 1917, #64.

10. LA RENTRÉE DU TROUPEAU/THE RETURN OF THE FLOCK 1893

Transfer lithograph. Imp. 21.3 x 33.8 cm. Paper 29 x 51 cm.

Inscription: l.r. Robt. J. Wickenden 93

Notes: Honourable Mention, Paris Salon 1894.

First state: 3 proofs. **Published state:** Les Peintres-Lithographes, 1ère année, no. 3, 1894. **Second state:** "essai", remarque "head of sheep".

Only a few of these separate "essai" were printed. **Third state:** 25 proofs.

Related work: An oil painting of the same title was first exhibited at Hanna & Ives, Detroit, 1889.

Collections: New York Public Library #38144, 2ième état-essai.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Two proofs, one of second state. Known as Les Plaines à Auvers-sur-Oise.

10. LA RENTREE DU TROUPEAU...cont'd.

Exhibitions: Salon de la Société des Artistes Français, Paris, 1894, #4554.

Frederick Keppel Galleries, New York, November 1894.

Hanna & Noyes, Detroit, January 1895, #30.

Exposition Internationale du Centenaire de la Lithographie, Paris, 1895, #32.

Le Nouvel Hôtel de Ville, Québec, November 1896, #42.1.

Château Frontenac, Québec, January 24-28, 1899, #42.

James Wilson & Co., Ottawa, April 21-30, 1902, #34.1

Anderson Art Galleries, New York, 1910 - signed first state offered at auction.

Athenaeum Annex Gallery, Hartford, Conn., December 17-29, 1917, #59.

References: Les Peintres-Lithographes Album Trimestriel de Lithographes Originales et Inédites 3. Paris, L'Artiste, 1894.

Untitled clipping, Revue des Beaux-Arts, le 6 mai, 1894.

Untitled clipping, Illustrated American (N.Y.), November 17, 1894.

"Minor Exhibitions," The Art Amateur 32, 1 (December 1894): 5.

Anderson 1910, 31.

11. THE RISE OF THE HARVEST MOON/LA LUNE DE LA MOISSON
1893

Lithograph on Japanese paper. Imp. 27 x 41.5 cm. Paper 45 x 63 cm.

Inscription: l.r. Robt. J. Wickenden 1893

Notes: About 100 impressions. (Artist's notes)

Related work: An oil painting of the same title was first exhibited at Hanna & Ives, Detroit, 1889.

Collections: New York Public Library

Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, Gr.1979.8. 23.1 x 35 cm, irregular dimensions

l.r. Robert J. Wickenden 1893. l. below composition " à Monsieur S. Le Sage/au revoir et à bientôt/de son ami Rbt. J. Wickenden/Paris, Mai 1895"

Private collection, Montreal. Two proofs.

11. THE RISE OF THE HARVEST MOON...cont'd.

Exhibitions: Antwerp 1894.

Salon de la Société des Artistes Français, Paris, 1894, #4554.

Honourable Mention.

Frederick Keppel Galleries, New York, November 1894.

Hanna & Noyes, Detroit, January 1895, #29.

Le Nouvel Hôtel de Ville, Québec, November 1896, #42.2.

Château Frontenac, Québec, January 24-28, 1899, #43.

James Wilson & Co., Ottawa, April 21-30, 1902, #34.2.

Anderson Art Galleries, New York, 1910 - signed artist's proof on Japan paper offered at auction.

Athenaeum Annex Gallery, Hartford, Conn., December 17-29, 1917, #58.

Lithographies, The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 2 juillet-août 1981.

Les paysages dans les dessins et estampes, The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 4 juillet-31 août 1986.

References: Untitled clipping, Revue des Beaux-Arts, le 6 mai, 1894.

Untitled clipping, Journal des arts, le 24 août, 1894.

Untitled clipping, The Illustrated American (N.Y.), November 17, 1894.

"Minor Exhibitions," The Art Amateur 32, 1 (December 1894): 5.

"Robert J. Wickenden," The Art Amateur 33,2 (July 1895): 26-27, illus. as The Harvest Moon.

Anderson 1910, 31.

12. LE PERE JORELLE 1893

Transfer lithograph on India paper. Imp. 29.4 x 23.3 cm. Mounted on paper 49.7 x 34.2 cm.

Inscription: u.r. le père Jorelle Robt. J. Wickenden '93

Notes: Fifty impressions. (Artist's notes)

Collections: New York Public Library #38147. Trial proof on Japan paper. Signed l.r. Robt. J. Wickenden.

Private collection, Bainsville, Ontario.

12. LE PERE JORELLE...cont'd.

Exhibitions: Frederick Keppel Galleries, New York, November 1894.
 Hanna & Noyes Gallery, Detroit, January 1895, #35.
 Le Nouvel Hôtel de Ville, Québec, November 1896, #43.
 Château Frontenac, Québec, January 24-28, 1899, #45.
 Anderson Art Galleries, New York, 1910 - signed trial proof on Japan paper offered at auction).
 Athenaeum Annex Gallery, Hartford, Conn., December 17-29, 1917, #75.

Reference: Anderson 1910, 31.

13. SELF-PORTRAIT 1894

Lithograph. Imp. 18 x 16 cm. Paper 25.5 x 18 cm.

Inscription: l.l. R.J.W. '94

Collection: Private collection, Montreal

References: Robert J. Wickenden, Poems of Nature and Sentiment. New York, Chicago and Paris: Frederick Keppel & Co., 1894, illus. frontspiece.

"Robert J. Wickenden," The Art Amateur 33, 2 (July 1895): 26, illus.

14. SELF-PORTRAIT n.d.

Lithograph. Imp. 18.3 x 15.8 cm. Paper 38.5 x 27.5 cm.

Notes: (facing left)

Related Work: A similar oil version is located in a private Ottawa collection.

Collection: Private collection, Montreal. Two proofs.

Exhibition: Athenaeum Annex Gallery, Hartford, Conn., December 17-29, 1917, #76.

15. MONSIEUR LE DOCTEUR PIERRE VANIER 1894

Lithograph on Japanese paper. Imp. 25.8 x 20.8 cm. Paper 49.3 x 35 cm.

Notes: Twenty-five impressions. Stone destroyed. Dr. Vanier was the physician of the family of Charles-François Daubigny, Auvers-sur-Oise and also the Wickenden family. Chevalier of the Legion of Honour awarded during the Franco-Prussian War. (Artist's notes) Office was at L'Isle d'Adam, further up the Oise River from Auvers-sur-Oise.

15. MONSIEUR LE DOCTEUR PIERRE VANIER...cont'd.

Collection: New York Public Library #38149, inscription on lower margin "A Monsieur le Docteur Vanier, son ami reconnaissant Robt. J. Wickenden 1894".

Exhibitions: Frederick Keppel Galleries, New York, November 1894.
Hanna & Noyes Gallery, Detroit, January 1895, #40.

Salon de la Société des Artistes Français, Paris, 1895.

Le Nouvel Hôtel de Ville, Québec, November 1896, #52.

Anderson Art Galleries, New York, 1910 - inscribed proof offered at auction

References: "M. Wickenden et L'Ecole Paysagiste," L'Événement (Québec), le 5 novembre, 1896.

Anderson 1910, 10.

16. PHILIP GILBERT HAMERTON 1894

Transfer lithograph. Imp. 46.1 x 34.5 cm. Paper 57.6 x 43.8 cm.

Inscription: u.l. Robt. J. Wickenden 1894. l.r. P.G. Hamerton

Third state.l.l. "remarque" in margin - artist's easel palette and other effects.

Notes: First state: unique trial proof in "papier verdâtre". Second state: about 6 impressions. Third state: about 40 remarque proofs. Stone effaced. Artist and critic. (Artist's notes)

Related work: Oil portrait, location unknown.

Collections: New York Public Library #38150 - "Epreuve d'essai, unique sur papier de cette couleur, 2e état" (Artist's notes)

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Detroit Institute of Arts, 09.1S1249.A

Private collection, Montreal. One proof without remarque. Two proofs with remarque, one marked "trial proof, Paris Salon, 1895". Five proofs of first state. Another proof, marked "Unique impression 'sur papier gris', signed u.r. Philip Gilbert Hamerton 1894".

Exhibitions: Frederick Keppel Galleries, New York, November 1894.

Salon de la Société des Artistes Français, Paris, 1895.

Le Nouvel Hôtel de Ville, Québec, November 1896, #48.

Château Frontenac, Québec, January 24-28, 1899, #46.

Anderson Art Galleries, New York, 1910 - unique signed trial proof on "papier verdâtre", marked "first state" by the artist and signed "remarque" proof on white paper offered at auction.

Athenaeum Annex Art Gallery, Hartford, Conn., December 17-29, 1917, #60.

16. PHILIP GILBERT HAMERTON...cont'd.

References: Hamerton 1896, 561.
Anderson 1910, 31.

17. NOTRE-DAME DE PARIS 1894

Lithograph. Imp. 59.5 x 48.5 cm. Paper 65.6 x 50.5 cm.

Inscription: l.l. Wickenden 94 (in white)

Notes: First state: trial proofs. Second state: Forty signed proofs. Third state: 2 proofs on Japan paper. Stone effaced. (Artist's notes) Wilson catalogue, 1902 indicates 100 proofs.

Collections: New York Public Library #38151. Proof of 1st state on tinted paper "Epreuve unique sur papier de cette couleur" (Artist's notes)

#38152. Trial proof, final state. Remarque: Madonna and Child. India paper mounted (Artist's notes)

Musée du Québec G.38.03- 34/40. Lower centre signed "Robt. J. Wickenden/March 1903". Lower margin, "To my fellow members of the Quebec Studio Club Robert J. Wickenden March 1903". (Gift of Mme. Constance Hubbard.)

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Proof with dedication "au bon ami Duchâtel"

Exhibitions: Frederick Keppel Galleries, New York, November 1894. Hanna & Noyes Gallery, Detroit, January 1895, #28.

Salon de la Société des Artistes Français, Paris, 1895.

Le Nouvel Hôtel de Ville, Québec, November 1896, #39.

Exposition Internationale du Centenaire de la Lithographie, Paris, 1895, #1383. Awarded "Diplome d'honneur".

Château Frontenac, Québec, January 24-28, 1899, #39.

James Wilson & Co., Ottawa, April 21-30, 1902, #33.

Royal Canadian Academy, Montreal, 1904.

Anderson Art Galleries, New York, 1910 - #26 of 40 signed proofs on Japan paper, and signed third state with artist's signed note "#1 of 2 proofs of this state on Japan paper" offered at auction.

Athenaeum Annex Gallery, Hartford, Conn., December 17-29, 1917, #53.

17. NOTRE-DAME DE PARIS...cont'd.

References: "Le Salon de Peinture à l'Hôtel de Ville," L'Événement (Québec), le 2 novembre, 1896.

"M. Wickenden et L'Ecole Paysagiste," L'Événement (Québec), le 5 novembre, 1896.

"The Painter's Art," The Quebec Chronicle, January 26, 1899.

Anderson 1910, 30.

"Wickenden Shows Lithographs," Brooklyn Daily Eagle, April 6, 1924: 22.

Laberge 1938, 87.

18. A CORNER OF THE ARTIST'S HOUSE

c.1894

Not Illustrated.

Etching. Dimensions unknown.

Collection: Not located.

Exhibitions: Frederick Keppel Galleries, New York, November 1894.

Hanna & Noyes Gallery, Detroit, January 1895, #42.

Athenaeum Annex Gallery, Hartford, Conn., December 17-29, 1917, #71.

19. MADAME DUTERTE, LATER MME CAFFIN 1895

Transfer lithograph. Imp. 26 x 21.5 cm. Paper 64 x 49 cm.

Inscription: l.l. Robert J. Wickenden 1895

Notes: Mostly worked on the stone. About 50 impressions. (Artist's notes)

Collections: New York Public Library #38154.

Private collection, Montreal.

20. FEMALE PORTRAIT 1895

Lithograph. Dimensions unknown

Inscription: u.r. Robt. J. Wickenden/PARIS 1895

Notes: The subject is unknown.

Collection: Private collection, Montreal.

21. TWILIGHT IN ARCADIA/LE CRÉPUSCULE 1896

Lithograph. Imp. 40 x 58.8 cm. Paper 50 x 68.6 cm.

Inscription: l.l. Robt. J. Wickenden

Notes: Thirty signed proofs were printed of official state by Duchâtel on India paper. (Artist's notes)

Collections: New York Public Library. Trial proof "Essai 2e état sur Japon" (Artist's notes)

Musée du Québec, G38.2E - In border l.l. No. 9 Robt. J. Wickenden/30 épreuves/ To my fellow members of the Quebec Studio Club/ March 1903 Private collection, Montreal. Two proofs, #11, #27. Trial proof, marked in margin "épreuve d'essai. Robt. J. Wickenden

Exhibitions: Salon de la Société des Artistes Français, Paris, 1896, (exhibited as Le crépuscule).

Le Nouvel Hôtel de Ville, November 1896, #40 (Le crépuscule).

James Wilson & Co., Ottawa, April 221-30, 1902, #36 (The Twilight Hour).

Anderson Art Galleries, New York, 1910 - # 30 of 30 signed proofs on India paper offered at auction.

Athenaeum Annex Gallery, Hartford, Conn., December 17-29, 1917, #54.

References: "M. Wickenden et L'Ecole Paysagiste," L'Événement (Québec), le 5 novembre, 1896.

Revue des Beaux-Arts, 1897 (illus.).

Anderson 1910, 30.

22. MONSIEUR C. 1895

Lithography. Dimensions unknown.

Inscription: l.l. Robt. J. Wickenden PARIS '95

Notes: The illustration of this catalogue entry is tentatively identified as Monsieur C.

Collection: Private Collection, Montreal.

Exhibition: Le Nouvel Hôtel de Ville, Québec, November 1896, #50.

23. HONOURABLE SIMON-NAPOLÉON PARENT 1897

Lithograph. Imp. 53.2 x 36.7 cm. Paper. 56.6 x 40 cm.

Inscription: l.l. Robert J. Wickenden 1897

Notes: 1855-1920. Mayor of Québec. Prime Minister of Quebec.
Commissioned December 1896.

Collections: Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Private collection, Montreal.

Exhibition: Château Frontenac, Québec, January 24-29, 1899, #38.

Reference: "Le Salon de Peinture à l'Hôtel de Ville," L'Événement (Québec), le 2 novembre, 1896.

24. SIR ADOLPHE CHAPLEAU, K.C.M.G. 1897

Transfer lithograph. Imp. 55.2 x 38.5 cm. Paper 62 x 43.5 cm.

Inscription: l.l. Robert Wickenden 1897; u.l. Sir Adolphe Chapleau, K.C.M.G./Lieut. Gouverneur de la Province de Québec. u.r. Coat of arms

Notes: One hundred proofs printed in Paris. (Artist's notes)
Gouverneur de la province de Québec 1892-1897.

Related works: Oil portrait of Chapleau, present location unknown (1902 James Wilson catalogue indicated oil was at Spencer Wood). Small oil sketch on panel at the Musée du Château de Ramezay.

Collections: New York Public Library #38155. No. 32/100 proofs, India paper, mounted. Signed l.r. J. A. Chapleau

Musée du Séminaire de Québec. Pf 986.4 R809. Epreuve d'essai.

Inscribed lower margin, "à mon très cher ami, l'abbé H. R.

Casgrain/souvenir de mon retour à Québec, le 23 juillet 1897/Robt. J. Wickenden". Don de M. L'abbé H. R. Casgrain.

Private collection, Montreal. Mounted proof.

Exhibitions: Louis Morency Gallery, Québec, c.1897? - oil and lithograph exhibited together in window display.

Salon de la Société des Artistes Français, Paris, 1899.

Château Frontenac, Québec, January 24-28, 1899, #37. (Signed by Chapleau)

Explications des Ouvrages de Peinture, Sculpture, Architecture, Gravure, et Lithographie des Artists Vivants, Palais des Machines, Paris, mai 1899, #4904.

Château Frontenac, Québec, January 22-26, 1901, #29.

James Wilson & Co., Ottawa, April 21-30, 1902, #37.

Athenaeum Annex Gallery, Hartford, Conn., December 17-29, 1917, #56.

24. SIR ADOLPHE CHAPLEAU...cont'd.

References: "An Artistic Masterpiece," Unidentified clipping [Quebec newspaper, c. 1897?].

"Works of Mr. Wickenden," The Daily Telegraph, January 21, 1901.
Laberge 1938, 87.

25. MONSEIGNEUR CYRILLE-ALFRED MAROIS c.1898

Lithograph. Dimensions unknown.

Notes: Marois was appointed Monseigneur in 1898, following Bégin.

Related work: Wickenden also painted an oil portrait of Marois, location unknown.

Collection: Private collection, Montreal.

26. HIS GRACE MONSEIGNEUR LOUIS-NAZAIRE BÉGIN 1898

Lithograph. Imp. 37.3 x 24.2 cm. Paper 50 x 34 cm.

Inscription: l.l. Robt. J. Wickenden 1898

Notes: One hundred proofs. (Artist's notes) 1840-1925. Monseigneur, Archbishop of Québec.

Related Work: Oil portrait of Bégin. (Musée du Séminaire de Québec)

Collections: Musée du Séminaire de Québec. Pf 986.10 R953. Proof 43/100, with l.r., "remarque" profile of Bégin.

Private collection, Montreal.

Exhibition: Château Frontenac, Québec, January 24-28, 1899, #36 - Signed by Bégin.

References: "The Painter's Art," The Quebec Chronicle, January 26, 1899.

27. SON ÉMINENCE CARDINAL ELZÉAR-ALEXANDRE TASCHEREAU 1898

Lithograph. Imp. 54.3 x 36.2 cm. Paper 64.1 x 50.1 cm.

Inscription: l.l. Robt. J. Wickenden/1898 (in white); u.r. coat of arms

Notes. One hundred impressions. Archevêque de Québec et Premier Cardinal du Canada.

Related work: Oil portrait of Taschereau (Musée du Séminaire de Québec).

**27. SON ÉMINENCE CARDINAL ELZÉAR-ALEXANDRE
TASCHEREAU ...cont'd.**

Collections: New York Public Library 1. #38157. 2e état-essai no. 7. Signed l.r. E.A. Cardinal Taschereau. Arch de Québec. 2. Also proof 27. from final state with remarque - head and shoulder profile of Taschereau

Musée du Séminaire de Québec. 1. Pf 986.11 R.954. Proof 42/100 with "remarque", profile of Taschereau, l.l. 2. Pf986.12. Center lower margin, printed "R. J. Wickenden, Pinx et Lith."

Private collection, Montreal. Proof #1, 1er état.

Exhibitions: Château Frontenac, Québec, January 24-28, 1899, #35.

Salon de la Société des Artistes Français, Paris, 1900

Château Frontenac, Québec, January 19-26, 1901, #28.

James Wilson & Co., Ottawa, April 21-30, 1902, #39.

Athenaeum Annex Gallery, Hartford, Conn., December 17-29, 1917, #57.

Le Cardinal Taschereau et ses successeurs 1886-1896", Musée du Séminaire de Québec, October 1986.

References: "The Painter's Art," The Quebec Chronicle, January 26, 1899.

"Works of Mr. Wickenden," The Daily Telegraph, January 21, 1901.

28. BY THE AEGEAN SEA 1898

Lithograph on Japan paper Imp. 30.3 x 47.8 cm. Paper 49.3 x 67.4 cm. **Inscription:** l.r. R.J. Wickenden 1898 in white

Notes: Twenty-five impressions. No. 8 on India paper. (Artist's notes) Some proofs printed with brown ink.

Related work: Oil painting of same title (Musée du Québec), exhibited at Frederick Keppel, November 1894.

Collections: New York Public Library #38156. 7/25

Private collection, Montreal. Three proofs.

28. BY THE AEGEAN SEA...cont'd.

Exhibitions: Château Frontenac, Québec, January 24-28, 1899, #40.
Salon de la Société des Artistes Français, Paris, 1899.

Explications des Ouvrages de Peinture, Sculpture, Architecture, Gravure et Lithographie des Artists Vivants, Palais des Machines, Paris, mai 1899, #4905.

Château Frontenac, Québec, January 19-26, 1901, #27 - impression exhibited belonged to Vesey Boswell, Québec.

James Wilson & Co., Ottawa, April 21-30, 1902, #38.

Anderson Art Galleries, New York, 1910 - #8 of 25 signed proof on India paper offered at auction.

Athenaeum Annex Gallery, Hartford, Conn., December 17-29, 1917, #55.

References: "Works of Mr. Wickenden," The Daily Telegraph, January 21, 1901.

Anderson 1910, 31

29. LE DÉFRICHEUR CANADIEN/THE PIONEER 1901

Lithograph on India paper. Imp. 36.2 x 50.3 cm. Paper 46.2 x 61 cm.

Inscription: l.r. Robert Wickenden 1901

Notes: About 50 impressions of the final state. (Artist's notes).

Wilson catalogue, 1902 indicates 100 proofs were taken.

Related Works: Oil painting of same title (Fig.2) (Musée du Québec).

Pen and ink sketch illustration, Laberge, 1938.

Collections: New York Public Library #38158. Trial proof, 1st state, no. 5/6 . (Artist's notes)

Private collection, Montreal. Seven proofs. One proof of scored plate.

29. LE DÉFRICHEUR CANADIEN/THE PIONEER...cont'd.

Exhibitions: James Wilson and Co., Ottawa, April 21-30, 1902, #32.
Royal Canadian Academy, 1905.

Anderson Art Galleries, New York, 1910 - signed trial proof on China paper offered at auction.

Athenaeum Annex Gallery, Hartford, Conn., December 17-29, 1917, #61.

Reference: Anderson 1910, 31.

30. QUEBEC FROM THE GOVERNOR GENERAL'S TERRACE CITADEL
 1901

Chromolithograph. Imp. 25.7 x 36.5 cm. Paper

Inscription: l.l. Robert Wickenden 1901

Notes: Commissioned by the publisher of The Daily Telegraph (Quebec) in 10 colours from the original painting by Wickenden (also commissioned by the publisher). Offered as a supplement to The Daily Telegraph, September 9, 1901, to commemorate the Quebec visit of the Duke and Duchess of York and Cornwall.

Collection: Musée du Québec, GO.827

Exhibition: La Ville de Québec le fleuve et ses voiliers, Musée du Québec, 1984

References: The Quebec Daily Telegraph, September 9, 1901 (advertisement).

La Ville de Québec le fleuve et ses voiliers. (Ex. Cat.), 7

31. JAMES McPHERSON LEMOINE/KNIGHT/AET 77 1902

Lithograph. Imp. 32 x 39.6 cm. Paper 60.5 x 45.4 cm.

Inscription: l.r. 1902 Robt. J. Wickenden. u.r. JAMES McPHERSON LeMOINE/KNIGHT/ AET 77/coat of arms

Notes: About 100 impressions. (Artist's notes) Lemoine 1825-1912.

Related Work: 1902 oil painting of Lemoine (Morrin College, Québec).

31. JAMES McPHERSON LEMOINE...cont'd.

Collections: New York Public Library #38159. Unique trial proof, printed on a lithographic transfer paper for transfer lithographic impressions from one stone to another.

McCord Museum, Montreal

Detroit Institute of Arts, 09.1S1249.B. Signed by Lemoine and Wickenden

Private collection, Montreal. Four proofs. l.l. margin Robt. J.

Wickenden, l.r. margin J. M. LeMoine

Exhibition: Athenaeum Annex Gallery, Hartford, Conn., December 17-29, 1917, #62.

32. DR. JOHN GEORGE ADAMI

1904

Lithograph. Imp. 34.5 x 28.4 cm. Paper 57 x 44.7 cm.

Inscription: l.r. Robt. J. Wickenden u.r. JOHN GEORGE ADAMI MCMIV

Notes: Professor of Pathology, McGill University, Montreal.

Collection: Private collection, Montreal. Two proofs.

Exhibition: Athenaeum Annex Gallery, Hartford, Conn., December 17-19, 1917, #74.

33. PORTRAIT OF A CURATOR

1907

Drawing on transfer paper, never transferred or printed. Paper 27 x 36.2 cm.

Inscription: l. R.J.W./1907

Notes: Frank Weitenkampf, Curator, Print Collection, NYPL

Collection: New York Public Library

Reference: The Bookman, September 1908, 10, illus.

34. ARCHBISHOP TIMOTHY A. CASEY

1910

Lithograph. Dimensions unknown.

Inscription: Middle right, crest

Related work: Life-size oil painting, present location unknown.

Notes: Archbishop Casey was part of the Roman Catholic Church in Saint John, New Brunswick.

Collection: Private collection, Montreal.

35. SIR THOMAS MORE. AFTER ALBRECHT DÜRER 1910

Etching. Imp. 36.4 x 30 cm. Paper 65 x 47.8 cm.

Inscription: l.l. A St. Th. More; l.r. Albert Dürer ;l.l. margin, remarque - insignia of Dürer and bearded male head and shoulders;

Notes: Printed by Peter J. Platt, Fine Art Printer, 91 Barclay St., New York, 350 prints on Japanese vellum.

Collections: Musée du Séminaire de Québec. Pf 984.18 (Gift of J. Purves Carter, c. 1913)

Private collection, Montreal. 15 proofs with remarque

Exhibitions: Royal Canadian Academy, Montreal, 1916.

Athenaeum Annex Gallery, Hartford, Conn., December 17-29, 1917, #72.

Reference: 1913 Catalogue, Musée de l'Université Laval, no. 324b

36. THE ARTIST FREDERICK K. DETWILLER 1929

Lithograph. Imp. 38 x 25 cm. Paper 48.3 x 31.5 cm.

Inscription: l.r. Robert J. Wickenden '29 in reverse; l.r. margin Robt. J. Wickenden

Notes: Frederick K. Detwiler, Brooklyn artist of the Ovington Group. About 25 impressions.

Collections: New York Public Library. Proof #5/29.

Private collection, Montreal. Trial proof. Also proofs #12, #18, #23

APPENDIX B: ROBERT JOHN WICKENDEN (1861-1931) CHRONOLOGY**1861**

July 8

Robert John Wickenden born Rochester, Kent, England, third son of Thomas and Charlotte W. (née Quaife) Wickenden. S. Thomas drowned prior to his birth.

1866

February 12

Birth of Ada Louise Ahier, future wife of Robert Wickenden.

1871

Passed Oxford Local Examinations, Rochester, England. Worked with a local druggist.

1873

September

Emigrated with his mother to Toledo, Ohio. Enters Franklin High School, Toledo.

1876

Apprenticed to photography firm, North & Oswald, Toledo.

1877

Opened photography studio in tent at Front & Main Sts., Toledo. Several months later, moved his business to Dundee, Michigan for next couple of years. Followed some art studies.

c.1879

Moved to Detroit.

1880-82

Studied at the Art Students League, New York. At Detroit between sessions, teaching at the Detroit Sketching Club

1883

January 13

Sailed on the "City of Richmond" to Liverpool, visits London, Rochester, and to Paris by January 30.

February

Studied with Courtois and Collin at Academy Colarossi.

- March Entered Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris under Ernest Hébert and Luc Olivier Merson.
- August Sketching at Brolles, near Barbizon. Befriended Portuguese artist, Pinto de Souza.
- October 31 Returned to Paris.
- 1884**
- Exhibited at Paris Salon
- July Sketching on Isle of Jersey with friend Fred Spencer.
- 1885**
- April 29 Weds Ada Louise Ahier at Isle of Jersey.
- Exhibited Dudley Gallery, London, England.
- Participated in Detroit Art Association exhibition at Hanna & Noyes, Detroit.
- June 22-27 Participated in Toledo Art Loan Exhibition.
- Won medal for landscape in oil at Tri-State Fair (Ohio, Michigan, Indiana)
- Autumn Exhibited at the National Academy, New York. Also at the American Art Association
- October 16 Arrived in New York on "City of Richmond" with Ada.
- 1886**
- January 14 Invited to join in the formation of a Society of Artists at the New York Academy of Design.
- Traveled with Ada to Toledo early in year.
- March 7 Birth of Alfred Ahier Wickenden at Toledo.

- April** Participated in National Academy Exhibition, New York.
- June** Gave up studio at The Sherwood Bldg, New York because of financial difficulties.
- July 7-15** Exhibited at Williams' Art Rooms, Toledo.
- Participated in American Watercolor Society Exhibition, New York.
- July** Sailed for Isle of Jersey with Ada and Alfred to be with her father who dies at Longueville in late November.
- Participated in exhibition at French Gallery, London.
- 1887**
- Moved to France early in year (or possibly late 1886).
- July** Moved to Auvers-sur-Oise. Befriends Mme Karl Daubigny.
- Autumn** Exhibited at the Fall Exhibition, American Art Galleries, New York.
- December** Moved back to Paris, studio at Neuilly.
- 1888**
- January 23** Changed New York dealer from Wilmurt to William Schill
- March** Became part of Paris-based committee organizing the American contributions to the Munich International Exhibition.

- Spring** Returned to Auvers. Befriended Charles Sprague Pearce, Boston artist and Paul Adolphe Rajon, French artist. The latter dies June 8.
- May 9** Alice Wickenden born at Auvers.
- Exhibited at Paris Salon of Société des Artistes Français. (Exhibit closes July 1)
- Exhibited Exposition Internationale de Blanc et de Noir, Paris.
- Exhibited Munich International Exposition. (Closed end of October)
- Family moved back to Paris late in year. Living at Neuilly and sharing studio at 235 Faubourg St. Honoré, Paris with Ulpiano Checa, Spanish artist
- 1889**
- Exhibited Exposition Universelle, Paris.
- Exhibited at Paris Salon.
- Exhibited American Art Association Prize Fund Exhibition, New York.
- Traveled to London to meet with Sheridan Ford, art critic.
- Exhibited Chicago Exposition.
- September** Sailed from Liverpool to New York on the "City of Chicago".
- October** Gave written opinion to Director, Detroit Museum of Art re 50 works to be selected for donation to the museum from the collection of James E. Scripps.

- November Exhibited at Hanna & Ives, Detroit.
- December 18-28 Exhibited at Hotel Ryan, St. Paul, Minnesota.
- 1890**
- January 13-18 Exhibited at McKecknie & Oswald's Art Galleries, Toledo.
- February Returned to France, having stopped in Detroit and New York.
- April 18 Birth of Yvonne Wickenden, Auvers-sur-Oise.
- Exhibited at Paris Salon, Société des Artistes Français.
- June 28 Visited family at Rochester, England.
- June 30 Attended, with Ada, wedding of Ulpiano Checa.
- July 30 At funeral of Vincent Van Gogh at Auvers-sur-Oise, after arranging for hearse from neighbouring village.
- July-September Rented apartment and studio of Charles-François Daubigny from Mme. Veuve Karl Daubigny.
- September Sailed from Antwerp to New York, having travelled via Brussels.
- October Leased room in Haseltine Building, Philadelphia for 3 months.
- November 3
-December 7 Participated in The Art Club of Philadelphia Second Special Exhibition.
- November Exhibited at Hazeltine Galleries, Philadelphia.

December Returned to Auvers-sur-Oise by Christmas, passage on S.S. Normandie.

1891

Moved his family move back to Paris, 74 Blvd. Montparnasse.

January 29
-March 6

Participated in 61st Annual Exhibition of Painting and Sculpture, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia.

June

Traveled to Italy - Florence, Rome, Venice, Pompeii.

October

Sailed with his family to New York, on to Toledo, Detroit, and Chicago where rented a house on Michigan Avenue.

Published On the Real and the Ideal in Art, Chicago.

Participated in Fourth Annual Exhibition of American Oil Paintings and Sculpture, Art Institute of Chicago.

November 16
-November 30

Exhibited in the galleries of the Chicago Society of Artists, 32 East Van Buren Street.

1892

February

Participated in Chicago Society of Artists Fourth Annual Exhibition of Black and White. (Member of organizing committee)

Participated in Spring Exhibition of Water Colours, The Art Institute of Chicago.

April

Decided to buy "Les Vallées", house in Auvers-sur-Oise from Louis Délépine, returned to France with family. Moved in May 1.

- June 2 Henri Robert Wickenden born, Auvers-sur-Oise.
- July Published "Charles-François Daubigny", The Century Magazine, XLIV, 3.
- September 10 Sailed on "La Bretagne" to New York.
- 1893**
- February 21-24 Auction sale of Wickenden collection of paintings, prints, and studies, The American Art Galleries, New York.
- March 4 Sailed for Europe on "La Gascogne".
- Renovated house at Auvers. Work finished by early 1894.
- Exhibited at Paris Salon
- Exhibited at Columbian Exhibition, Chicago.
- Summer Frederick Keppel visited Auvers with his family.
- 1894**
- Still sharing Paris studio with Ulpiano Checa at 235 Faubourg St. Honoré.
- Exhibited at Antwerp and Lyon.
- Exhibited at Paris Salon, receiving two honourable mentions for his lithographs.
- Participated in Exposition des Beaux-Arts. Château de Saint-Germain-en-Laye, France
- October 6 Sailed for New York.

Exhibited at Cotton States Exposition, Atlanta, Georgia.

Exhibited at Saint Louis Exposition.

Exhibited at Art Gallery Exposition, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Publishes Poems of Nature and Sentiment, New York.

October 29

-November 13 Exhibited at Frederick Keppel & Co., New York.

Exhibited at Lyon.

1895

January 5-12 Exhibited at Hanna & Noyes Art Galleries, Detroit.

February Returned to Europe.

Exhibited at Auvers-sur-Oise.

Exhibited at Paris Salon.

September 28

-November 30 Exhibited at Exposition du Centenaire de la lithographie, Paris.

1896

January 19 Birth of Jean-François Wickenden, Auvers-sur-Oise.

April Auction sale of Wickenden Collection at Robinson & Fisher, London.

Exhibited at Paris Salon

September Exhibited at Salon de la Rose+Croix, Paris
Arrived in Quebec City, after visiting New York, Toledo, and Detroit en route.

November 3-10 Exhibited at le Nouvel Hôtel de Ville, Québec.

1897

April Exhibited portraits at le Nouvel Hôtel de Ville, Québec.

April Traveled to Montreal, Detroit, New York and on to Auvers.

July Sailed to Canada, via Antwerp, Amsterdam, The Hague, Liverpool.

1898

January Proposed formation of an Ecole des Beaux-Arts to Québec government, offering use of his collection for study purposes.

Elected honorary member and instructor of Quebec Studio Club.

May 21 Sailed for Europe, after visiting Montreal. Arrived early June.

September 15 Sailed for Québec.

1899

January 24-28 Exhibited at Château Frontenac, Québec.

March 19 Sailed from New York. After a few days at Auvers, leased studio at 81 Boulevard Clichy, Paris to execute *Le Défricheur Canadien* and *Le Voyageur*.

April Exhibited at Royal Canadian Academy Exhibition, Montreal.

May Exhibited at *Ouvrages de Peinture, Sculpture, Architecture, Gravure et Lithographie des Artistes*

Vivants, Palais des Machines, Avenue de la Bourdonnais, Paris.

Exhibited at Paris Salon.

1900

April

Exhibited at Ouvrages de Peinture, Sculpture, Architecture, Gravure et Lithographie des Artistes Vivants, Place de Breteuil, Paris.

Exhibited at Paris Salon.

Exhibited at Art Association of Montreal Spring Exhibition.

May

Emigrated to Canada settling in Montreal. Studio in the Y.M.C.A. Building, Dominion Square (present site of Sun Life).

Exhibited at Exposition Universelle, Paris.

November 22-24 Exhibited in his studio, Montreal.

1901

January 19-26 Exhibited at Château Frontenac, Québec.

March

Exhibited at Art Association of Montreal 20th Spring Exhibition.

1902

March

Exhibited at Royal Canadian Academy Exhibition, Montreal.

April 21-30

Exhibited at James Wilson & Co., Ottawa.

May 22-29

Exhibited at the Château Frontenac, Québec .

Evaluated Collection Marois at the Séminaire de Québec with M. Raab.

1903

January 22-23 Auctioned 49 works at the Château Frontenac, Québec.

September Gave sketching lessons to Quebec Studio Club.

Gave lessons to nuns at the Couvent du Bon Pasteur (Congregation des Servantes du Coeur Immaculée de Marie, Québec.)

December 22 Auction of Wickenden Collection, 3 Beaver Hall Square, Montreal by Walter M. Kearns.

1904

March Exhibited Royal Canadian Academy Annual Exhibition, Montreal.

1905

March Exhibited at Art Association of Montreal 22nd Spring Exhibition.

March Did restoration work for Henry Morgan & Co., Montreal. Also some work in April.

May Exhibited at Royal Canadian Academy Exhibition, Toronto.

June Exhibited at the Château Frontenac, Québec.

November 11 Elected member, Pen and Pencil Club of Montreal.

1906

January 30 Purchased 12 acres of farmland with buildings, Elmwood District, Bethel Connecticut. Possession April 1.

April 1 Leased loft at 7 East 39th St, New York for studio and apartment.

Moved family to Bethel, Conn.

May Donated 19 of his lithographs to New York Public Library on request.

1907

March-May Part of Recent Acquisitions of American Work Exhibition, New York Public Library, Print Department.

April Unveiling of Bronze memorial tablet, designed and modelled by Wickenden in memory of late Lawrence S. Price, son of Herbert M. Price, St. Mary's Church, Montmorency Falls, Quebec. Copy in chapel at Bishop's College School, Lennoxville.

June Exhibited at Château Frontenac, Québec.

Gave criticism session to Quebec Studio Club.

Wrote Introduction to Frederick Keppel Galleries Catalogue - "Charles-François Daubigny"

December 16 Auction of Wickenden collection at Morency Art Rooms, 183 St. John St., Québec. Paintings and other art objects from the Estate of Philippe Huot were part of the same session.

1908

Wrote Introduction to Frederick Keppel Galleries Catalogue - "Drawings and Etchings by Daubigny".

February Lectured on "Art" at art exhibition in Danbury, Conn.

March Lectured on "Art and Its Relation to Modern Life" to Men's Club of the Congregational Church, Bethel.

Wrote "Introduction" to Catalogue of an Exhibition

of Drawings and Etchings by Daubigny. N.Y.:
Frederick Keppel & Co.

September Sketching in Pittsfield, Mass. area, guest of J. J.
Whittlesey.

1909

October Sketching in Quebec.

1910

January Lectured to Ladies' Auxiliary of the Bethel, Conn.
Library Association. Scheduled to speak on "Art",
but instead spoke on "Libraries".

March 31-April 1 Auction of paintings, drawings, engravings, and
etchings from Wickenden collection, Anderson Art
Galleries, New York. Second session of Wickenden
studio effects and prints from Wickenden collection,
April 23.

April Executing portrait commissions in Québec.

Published "Portraits of Carroll Beckwith,"
Scribner's Magazine, 47.

October Spent month in Halifax to etch portrait of Sir
Thomas More after Dürer.

November Left for New York.

Wrote Catalogue Introduction for Frederick Keppel
Galleries, New York - "The Men of 1830".

1911

February Visiting Québec for commissions.

- March 23 Lectured on "Art in its Relations to Modern Life" to Literary and Historical Society of Quebec and the Governors of Morrin College.
- May Staying at Château Frontenac, Québec.
- Published Notes on the Recently Discovered Portrait of Sir Thomas More, Lord Chancellor to Henry VIII, painted by Albert Durer.
- June Purchased Maria Parloa's property at Bethel, Conn. Sold farm property outside town.
- Summer Rented New York studio to Herman A. Webster, artist, for biting and preparation of plates.
- 1912**
- February Published "Charles Jacque," The Print Collector's Quarterly 2, 1.
- February-May Staying at Château Frontenac, Québec, followed by visit to Montreal.
- April Published "The Art and Etchings of Jean-François Millet," The Print Collector's Quarterly 2, 2.
- October Published "Le Père Corot," The Print Collector's Quarterly 2, 3.
- Received commission to paint portrait of His Majesty the late King Edward VII in Civil Dress from the Nova Scotia Government.
- Sailed October 13 on S.S. Scotian from Montreal for portrait commission of King Edward VII. Arrived in November and worked on the commission in his London studio until late August 1913. Visited France and Holland during this period.

1913

February

Published "The Men of 1830," The Print Collector's Quarterly 3, 1.

April

Published "Charles-François Daubigny Painter and Etcher," The Print Collector's Quarterly 3, 2.

April 25

Attended unveiling of King Edward VII portrait at Canada Club Banquet, London, in honour of H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught, Governor-General of Canada.

August

Arrived at St. John's, Newfoundland for two weeks.

September

Attended unveiling of Portrait of King Edward VII in Art Gallery at the Provincial Exhibition, Halifax.

1914

February

Published "Millet's Drawings at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston," The Print Collector's Quarterly 4 1.

Staying at Château Frontenac, Québec. Researching painting in estate of Miss Frances E. Ross for Royal Trust.

October -November Trying to organize local relief support in Bethel for Belgians affected by World War I.

1915

- January Staying at Château Frontenac, Québec, exhibiting his Portrait of King Edward VII in Field Marshall's uniform. Stayed until March on portrait commissions.
- February Published "Gavarni," The Print Collector's Quarterly 5, 1.
- March-April Exhibited at Art Association of Montreal 32nd Spring Exhibition.
- May Exhibited at the Salon de la Charité, Québec.
- September Returned to Château Frontenac, Québec after several months absence.
- Autumn Chaired committee organizing art section of Danbury, Conn. general exposition.
- November Visited Quebec.
- December Visited Detroit.

1916

- February Portrait commissions in Quebec and Montreal.
- Exhibited at Art Association of Montreal 33rd Spring Exhibition.
- April Published "A Jupiter in Sabots," The Print Collector's Quarterly 6, 2.
- September Spent several months in Ottawa.
- November Exhibited at Royal Canadian Academy Exhibition, Montreal.

Gave two lectures at Columbia University. Asked for "expert" opinion by Anderson Art Galleries on Corot painting.

December Exhibited at James Wilson & Co., Ottawa.

Published "Paul Adolphe Rajon", The Print Collector's Quarterly 6, 4.

1917

February Published "Auguste Raffet," The Print Collector's Quarterly 6,4.

December 17-29 Exhibited at Athenaeum Annex Gallery, Hartford, Connecticut.

1918

January 12-February 2 Exhibited at Curtis Art Co., Westbury, Conn.

January 22 Lectured on "Art and Waterbury" to Rotary Club of Waterbury, Conn.

c. May Posted to France with American Red Cross, for about 8 months.

1919

Moved to Danbury, Conn.

June Spoke to Universalist Men's Club, Danbury, on French-American relations

August Staying at Victoria Chambers, Ottawa until Christmas return to Danbury.

October 22-31 Exhibited at James Wilson & Sons, Ottawa.

1920

January 19-31 Exhibited at The Mohr Art Galleries, Toledo, Ohio.

- July Visiting Ottawa for portrait commissions, then to St. Andrews East, Quebec, and Trois-Rivières area.
- September Returned to Danbury, Conn.
- December Participated in first exhibition in the gallery of the Ovington Building, 216 Fulton Street, Brooklyn.
- 1921**
- Exhibited Art Association of Montreal 38th Spring Exhibition.
- June Visiting Ottawa for portrait commissions, staying until end of year.
- Moved from Danbury, Conn. to Brooklyn, New York.
- 1922**
- January 12
-February 2 Exhibited at The Curtis Art Co. , Waterbury, Conn.
- January 24
-February 7 Exhibited at James Wilson & Co., Ottawa.
- March 7-25 Exhibited at Johnson Art Galleries, Montreal.
- March 21
-April 15 Exhibited at the Art Association of Montreal 39th Spring Exhibition.
- March 23 Lectured at Art Association of Montreal on "The Barbizon School"
- April-September Staying at Victoria Chambers, Ottawa.
In July visiting son, Alfred at Trois-Rivières.
- 1923**
- January 18
-February 1 Exhibited at James Wilson & Co., Ottawa.

March 19
-April 7

Exhibited at The Carroll Gallery Ltd., Toronto.

Exhibited in Spring Exhibition of Paintings and Watercolours from the Carroll Gallery, London, England and Selected Works by Modern Canadian Artists. The Carroll Gallery Ltd., Toronto.

1924

January 19
-February 2

Exhibited with Max Hermann and Andrew T. Schwartz at Ovington Group Studios, Brooklyn.

April

Exhibited lithographs in At Home of 20 artists, Ovington Studios, Brooklyn.

December 5-
January 3

Exhibited at The Neighbourhood Club, 104 Clark St., Brooklyn Heights.

December 10

Lectured on "Painters, Past and Present" at The Neighbourhood Club, Brooklyn Heights.

1925

February

Exhibited at James Wilson & Co., Ottawa.

Exhibited Art Association of Montreal 42nd Spring Exhibition.

June

Visited Toronto. Exhibited portrait of his cousin, E.J. Philips with 2 grandchildren, Betty and Leonard Jarvis, at Britnell's gallery.

Wrote Catalogue Introduction for Frederick Keppel & Co., New York on Prints of the Barbizon School.

October-February In Montreal, cataloguing the Sir William Van Horne Collection.

November Exhibited Royal Canadian Academy, Montreal.

1926

March Lectured on "The Influence of the Barbizon Masters on the American school", Brooklyn Museum of Fine Arts.

April-September Travelling with Ada in Europe.

December Published "The Christmas Tree That Grew Up," Brooklyn Life, December 25, 1926.

Completed notes on Sir William Van Horne's collection for The Royal Trust Co., Montreal.

1927

July Sketching on Mount Royal, Montreal.

1928

Compiling additional notes on "Articles, Citations & References to the pictures by various authors and connoisseurs in the Collection of Sir William Van Horne, Montreal" at New York.

September Researching the Montreal period c.1794-1802 of miniature painter, John Ramage for John Hill Morgan, Brooklyn.

1929

January In Montreal due to death of Lady Van Horne.

April Designing stained glass memorial window for St. Luke's Chapel at Detroit in memory of Mary Rice Coyl and Frederick E. Driggs. Consecrated October in Detroit.

June Exhibited at the Neighbourhood Club Rooms, 104 Clark St., Brooklyn.

December 29 Ada Wickenden to Memorial Hospital, New York until her death January 27, 1931.

1931

February 15-22 Participated in Exhibition of Painting and Sculpture by Brooklyn and Long Island Artists, Long Island University.

April 10-May 4 Participated in Brooklyn Society of Artists 15th Annual Exhibition, Pratt Institute Art Gallery, Brooklyn.

King Edward VII portrait exhibited at Simpson's store, Toronto.

Visited Ottawa.

November 28 Death of Robert Wickenden at Brooklyn. Buried Bethel, Connecticut.

APPENDIX C: ROBERT J. WICKENDEN EXHIBITIONS

Note: Explanatory references from the original catalogues are printed in *italics* in this listing. When available, original catalogue numbers have been included.

1884 Salon de la Société des Artistes Français, Paris

2456. *The Gleaner of the Forest*, Fontainebleau (oil)

1885 Toledo Art Loan, June 22-27

#44. *Jerseys at Home*, Isle of Jersey.

Mr. Le Broeg placed his celebrated head at the disposal of the artist, among which were the prize bull and cow of the Island whose portraits are in the foreground.

#45. "The Gleaner of the Forest", Fontainebleau
Exhibited Paris Salon 1884

#46. "November" On the Seine

#47. "Landscape with Castle", Isle of Jersey

#48. "Deery" Pride of Jersey Portrait

#49. "Where the Lilies Grow" American Scenery

#50. Portrait of Shakespeare, 150 years old- Miss Pet Wheeler

#51. Trout Fisher (etching and watercolour section)

1885 Dudley Gallery Exhibition, London

Sunny Morning, near Beaumont, Isle of Jersey (watercolour)

1885 Autumn Academy Exhibition, New York

A Jersey Milkmaid (oil)

1885 Detroit Art Association Exhibition

Titles unknown.

1886 National Academy Exhibition, New York, April 2

A Springtime Idyll

#843. Driving Home the Turkeys

1886 American Watercolour Society Exhibition, New York

A Corner of the Lake, Central Park, New York

1886-7 The Thirty-Fourth Annual Exhibition of Pictures, the Contributions of British and Foreign Artists, French Gallery, 120 Pall Mall, London

#74. Where the Kye Cam' Hame

1886 Art Reception and Exhibition Robert J. Wickenden, Williams' Art Rooms, 147 Summit St., Toledo, July 7-15

In view of Mr. Wickenden's immediate return to Europe an excellent opportunity to collectors and lovers of pictures to possess themselves of an example by this artist, the merit of whose work has been recognized at principal exhibitions Paris, London and New York.

Oils

A Jersey Milkmaid *From Autumn Academy Exhibition, New York, 1885*

Field Flowers

In the Fields at Evening - Isle of Jersey

Head of a Roman Girl

"Into the darkness and the hush of night

Slowly the landscape sinks and fades away" - Longfellow

Near St. Mary's Mill, Jersey

Picking Violets -Bois de Meudon, near Paris

Study of a Head *After original by Rembrandt at Louvre*

A Glimpse of the Sea

The Morning Dew

A Corner in the Studio

Deery-A Jersey Sketch

Midsummer's Night By the Sea *Study in black and white*

Maple Woods in Autumn

A Grey Day at Brolles - Seine et Marne

In the St. Pierre Valley, Jersey

Watercolours

A Sunny Morning near Beaumont, Isle of Jersey *From Dudley Gallery Exhibition, London, 1885*

On Board the "City of Richmond" in Mid-Ocean

A Reflective Moment

A Corner of the Lake, Central Park, New York *From American Watercolour Society Exhibition, New York Exhibition 1886.*

An Albanian Guitarist
 Threshing Day - A Sketch
 A Meadow Brook - Jersey
 October Noon.
 St. Aubin's Bay - Jersey
 Lowtide - St. Aubin's Bay
 A Cornfield Sketch

1887 Fall Exhibition. American Art Galleries, New York
 An Arcadian Shepherdess

1888 Société des Artistes Français pour L'Exposition des Beaux-Arts de 1888. Salon de 1888

#3694. Souvenir d'Automne (watercolour)

#3695. Fileuse (aquarelle)

Robert J. Wickenden né à Rochester, de parents américains, adresse: à Auvers-sur-Oise

1888 Exposition Internationale de Blanc et Noir. Paris (3e année)

#1474 Cotes fleuries, Ile de Jersey

#1475 6 aquarelles - études après nature

Naturalisé Américain, élève de E. Hébert and L.O. Merson, Auvers-sur-Oise

1888 Munich International Exhibition

Study of Oaks, Isle of Jersey (w.c.?)

1889 Exposition Universelle. Paris

Côte Fleuries/Flower Hillsides,

#330. Midi/Jersey Noontide-Plain of Auvers, France

1889 Salon de la Société des Artistes Français. Paris

#2730. L'Approche du Soir

Noon

Les Côtes Fleuries

Spring

Autumn Evening

1889 American Art Association Prize Fund Exhibition, Madison Square, N.Y.

In Springtime

1889 Chicago Exposition

Study of Oak Trees, Isle of Jersey

1889 Exhibition at Hanna & Ives, Detroit, November

3. L'Approche du Soir

13. (sky.. foliage and wall)

17. (stubble field)

29. The Lost Child

The Return of the Flock

Café-au-lait (watercolour)

Iris

The Queen of Sleep

An Arcadian Shepherdess

The Rise of the Harvest Moon

A Study of Oaks, Isle of Jersey (black and white sketch)

The Lark's song

...listing incomplete

1889 Catalogue of Works of Mr. Robert J. Wickenden, Hotel Ryan, St. Paul, Minnesota, December 18-28

The grain that is ready to fall

The day that is ready to die

The valley that soon must be passed

And the cross, ever lifted on high.

Let me patiently wait by the cross

The end of my journey is near

Though night with its darkness surround

God is nigh...no evil I fear. Robert J. Wickenden

Oils

L'Approche du Soir *Paris Salon 1889*

Morning in Spring

Return of the Flock *Plain of Auvers, France*

In Springtime. *Prize Fund Exhibition American Art Association, Madison Square, New York, 1889*

The Lark's Song

Rise of the Harvest Moon

Queen of Sleep

Iris, the Spirit of the Shower

"A light of laughing flowers along the grass is spread" Shelley

The Lost Child

On the Oise, near the Ile des Vaux

The Return of the Haymakers

The Court of Madame Aubert

The Cottage of Père Ferdinand Gulpin

A Daughter of Italy

La France Roses

Feathered Gleaners

Flowery Hillside, Isle of Jersey

A June Morning, Plain of Auvers

"Where Many Poppies Grew"

Awaiting the Milkmaid

Watercolours

Café au Lait

Souvenir d'Automne *Salon 1888*

Sunny Morning near Beaumont, Isle of Jersey *Dudley Gallery Exhibition, London, 1888*

Off Jersey, Stormy Weather *Exposition Internationale de Blanc et Noir, Paris, 1888*

An Autumn Impression *Exposition Internationale de Blanc et Noir*

Twixt Night and Day *Exposition Internationale de Blanc et Noir*

Sunset *Exposition Internationale de Blanc et Noir*

The Valley of the Seine at Evening

St. Aubin's Bay, Isle of Jersey

A Springtime Study

Pink Luzerne, Plain of Auvers

Evening off Jersey

Autumna

Study of Oaks, Isle of Jersey *Munich International Exposition 1888*

1890 Collection of Paintings by Mr. Robert J. Wickenden of Paris,
McKechnie & Oswald's Art Galleries, St. Clair St. opp. Steedman
Monument, Toledo, January 13-18

Oils

L'Approche du Soir Paris Salon 1889. Selected by Messrs. Appleton & Sons of N.Y. for reproduction in "Recent Ideals of American Art".

Morning in Spring

The Lark's Song

In Springtime Prize Fund Exhibition, American Art Assoc., Madison Sq., N.Y.

The Rise of the Harvest Moon

Queen of Sleep

Iris the Spirit of the Shower

"A light of laughing flowers along the grass is spread" - Shelley

On the Oise, near the Ile des Vaux

The Return of the Haymakers

The Court of Mme. Aubert

The Cottage of Pere Ferdinand Guilpin

A Daughter of Italy

La France Roses

Flowery Hillside, Isle of Jersey

A June Morning, Plain of Auvers

"Where Many Poppies Grew"

Blue and Gold

Watercolours

Souvenir d'Automne Paris Salon of 1888

Sunny Morning, near Beaumont, Isle of Jersey Dudley Gallery Exhibition, London, 1885

Off Jersey, Stormy Weather Exposition Internationale de Blanc et Noir, Paris, 1888

An Autumn Impression Exposition Internationale de Blanc et Noir

Twixt Night and Day Exposition Internationale de Blanc et Noir

Sunset Exposition Internationale de Blanc et Noir

The Valley of the Seine at Evening

St. Aubin's Bay, Isle of Jersey

A Springtime Study

Pink Luzerne Plain of Auvers

Evening off Jersey

Autumna

Study of Oaks, Isle of Jersey *Munich International Exhibition 1888*

1890 Salon de la Société des Artistes Français, Paris

L'Approche du Soir

1890 The Art Club of Philadelphia Second Special Exhibition,

November 3-December 7

#70. Noontide

#75. Thinking of the Departed One

1890? Catalogue of Pictures Now on Exhibition and For Sale by

Isaiah Price at the Art Rooms, 32 North 15th St., Philadelphia

#85. Sunday Evening, Auvers-sur-Oise, France *Robert J. Wickenden, Paris, France*

The picture was painted at Auvers-sur-Oise, a place made famous as having been the home of a number of great artists. Daubigny built his studio and country place here, where Corot often visited him, as well as Rousseau, Millet, and Jules Dupré, who lived nearby. It is situated about 18 miles north of Paris, and has retained much of the ancient rustic quality. The picture was painted on the plain, in the opening air and from living models posing on the spot. The old church tower seen to the right is that of Auvers, and was built some 600 years ago, about the time of Edward the Confessor in England. The old peasant woman is Mère Panneçaye, one of the characters of the neighbourhood, nearing the nineties and formerly a domestic in the house of Paul Rajon, the celebrated etcher. She loves children, and is of a most patient, submissive disposition. It seemed to me her life was a "Sunday Evening" a time of repose, and when the grain was about ready to be cut. So that the time of day, the old church tower, the ripening fields and the old peasant, came together in my mind as a harmonious composition. Robert J. Wickenden

1890 Paintings by Robert J. Wickenden of Paris, Haseltine Galleries, Philadelphia, Opening Monday November 24

Avant-Propos

"Art is expression," wrote Millet, "say it and say it over again perhaps somebody will believe you." We each take out of the infinity of nature and thought, some fact or fancy that touches us and endeavour to fix it in art so that all may share our pleasure.

As words in prose/verse may record facts, convey thoughts, or suggest emotions, so may form and colour in pictorial art be used for similar purposes. To merely wield a brush skillfully is not all of art; the motive should come from the soul and strike an echo in those who sympathize while endeavouring to be truthful, it should be our object to seek for that subtle essence of all truth - beauty. Robert J. Wickenden. Philadelphia, November 1890.

Oils

The Queen of Sleep

The Rise of the Harvest Moon

The Lark's Song

A Cup of Cold Water *owned by Robert G. Chandler*

The Evening Star

The Time of Roses

Whisperings of Spring

The Time of Violets

The Spirit of the Shower

The May Queen

A Springtime Pastoral

Sunday Evening

Sunset on the River Oise, near l'Ile des Vaux

"A Light of Laughing Flowers"

"Alfred qui rit"

Autumn, Blue and Gold

Neapolitan Girl

Afternoon in May

The End of the Village

Poppies

Easter Morning

Watercolours:

Flowery Hillside, Isle of Jersey *Exposition Universelle, Paris, 1889*

Souvenir d'Automne. *Paris Salon 1888*

Sunny Morning, near Beaumont, Isle of Jersey

November

Sunset

An Autumn Impression *Exposition Internationale de Blanc et Noir, Paris, 1888*

Off Jersey, Stormy Weather *Exposition Internationale de Blanc et Noir*

Twixt Night and Day *Exposition internationale de Blanc et Noir*

Elizabeth Castle, St. Aubin's Bay, Jersey

The Evening Tide

The Valley of the Seine, near Fontainebleau

Study of Oaks, Ile de Jersey *Exposition Internationale, Munich 1888*
Parisienne

June Breezes, Plaine d'Auvers-sur-Oise

Prices from: Messrs. Haseltine or of Mr. Wickenden, Hotel Lafayette.

1890? Detroit International Exposition Association, Second annual exhibition, 233 pictures by 178 artists chosen by committee under direction of American Art Association
Robert Wickenden exhibited two works

1891 Sixty-First Annual Exhibition of Painting and Sculpture

Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia, January 29-March 6

#334. A Springtime Pastoral

1891 Catalogue of Paintings by Robert J. Wickenden, Galleries of the Chicago Society of Artists, Athenaeum Building, Chicago, November 16-28

Oils

The Exile

"I will look upon the ocean" -Victor Hugo in 1852

"There exists other old men, removed from Paris for certain motives, during some fifteen or sixteen years past, who live in

solitude, who see no other toilets than that of the dawn rising from the sea"- Victor Hugo in 1867

The Mower

Iris the Spirit of the Shower

The Rise of the Harvest Moon-Plain of Auvers

Sunday Evening

Thoughts of the Absent *Salon of 1890*

The Lark's Song

The Naian

The Evening Star

Noontide *Paris Exposition 1889*

The Widow

"To pick her wintry faggot from the thorn

To seek her nightly shed and weep till morn"

-Goldsmith, Deserted Village

The Time of Roses

Supper Time

"Beside the Still Waters"

The Tryst

A Springtime Reverie

Laurella, a Southern Flower

Picking Violets

On the Seine, near Fontainebleau

Alfred Laughing

"Fifille" Sleeping

Evening in the Luxembourg Gardens

"A Light of Laughing flowers along the grass is spread" Shelley

The May Queen

Portrait of my son Alfred

Where Many Poppies Grew

Primrose Gathering

June Morning, Plains of Auvers

Watercolours, etc.

Flowery Hillsides, Isle of Jersey *Universal Exposition 1889*

Souvenir d'Automne *Paris Salon 1888*

The Doganna and Santa Maria della Salute, Venice

Bathing off Lido

Venice from near Lido (pastel)

Dawn over the Bay of Naples and Vesuvius (pastel)

Evening on the Bay of Naples

The Port of Genoa (pastel)

The Evening Tide

View near Beaumont, Jersey

November

Valley of the Seine at Evening, Bois-le-Roi

Stormy Weather, St. Clement's Bay, Ile de Jersey

Following are four original lithographs by Mr. Wickenden after paintings by himself. A limited number of select proofs only have been printed which may be secured through Messrs Frederick Keppel & Co., 20 East 16th St., New York or from the Artist.

L'Approche du Soir *After original in Paris Salon of 1889*

The Spinner *Salon 1888*

An Evening Pastoral

A Song of the Adriatic

1891 Catalogue of the Fourth Annual Exhibition of American Oil Paintings and Sculpture. Art Institute of Chicago

#358. The Approach of Evening

#359. The Queen of Sleep

1892 Chicago Society of Artists Fourth Annual Exhibition of Black and White. February 22

#114. The Approach of Evening.

#115. The Spinner

#116. A Twilight Pastoral

#117. Song of the Adriatic

#118. Study of Oaks

1892 Spring Exhibition of Watercolours. The Art Institute of Chicago, March 21-April 17

#214. Autumn Moonrise

#215. Flowery Hillside, Ile de Jersey

#216. The Village Street, Auvers-sur-Oise, France

1893 Salon de la Société des Artistes Français. Paris

#4203. *Three lithographs*

The Spinner
 L'Approche du Soir
 A Twilight Pastoral

1893 Columbian Exposition, Chicago
 Whispering of Spring

1894 Antwerp
 La Mère Panneçaye
 The Harvest Moon

1894 Lyon
 La Mère Panneçaye

1894 Salon de la Société des Artistes Français, Paris
 #4554. *Two lithographs*
 The Harvest Moon *Honourable mention*
 The Return of the Flock *Honourable mention*
 #4553. *Four portraits.*
 La Mère Panneçaye
 Portrait of Madame B.
 Portrait of Bernard Daubigny
 Portrait of Mme Karl Daubigny

1894 Exposition des Beaux-Arts, Château de Saint-Germain-en-Laye
 #332. Au bord de la mer Egée
 #333. Le fin de la journée

1894 Cotton States Exposition, Atlanta, Georgia
 Le Repas du Soir

1894 St. Louis Exposition, Catalogue of the Art Department
 #494 Going to Market

1894 Art Gallery Exposition, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
 #141. Whisperings of Spring

1894 Exhibition of Paintings. Aquarelles. Drawings. Lithographs. Etchings by Robert J. Wickenden on Paris. Frederick Keppel Galleries, New York, October 29-November 13

Oils

1. By the Aegean Sea
2. Portrait of Philip Gilbert Hamerton *NFS*
3. L'Approche de Soir *From the Paris Salon 1889*
4. Summer Evening - Les Vallées, Auvers-sur-Oise
5. Portrait of Frederick Keppel *NFS*
6. Le Repas du Soir
7. Morning in June
8. Portrait of Monsieur Gustave Mercier, aquafortist *NFS*
9. Sunset on the Oise
10. Honored Old Age *Daubigny's studio boat "Le Botin" in the garden at Auvers.*
11. The Naiad
12. The Ending Day
13. The Return of Spring
14. Portrait of Mademoiselle M.D. *NFS*
15. A May Morning
16. The Violets
17. Going Home
18. Whisperings of Spring *From the Chicago Exhibition.*
19. The Village of Auvers
20. Fille Sleeping *NFS*
21. Portrait of Horace Bradley *NFS*
22. Going to Market
23. Pensées de l'Absent *NFS From Salon of 1890. Kindly lent by Mrs. Coyl.*
24. Portrait of Madame A. *NFS*
25. The Gathering Harvest
26. Portrait of the Artist's Son *NFS*
27. A Poet's Corner
28. Flora

Watercolours

Les Bonnes Femmes

After Harvest

The Village Street, Auvers

Flower Hillsides, Jersey *From the Paris Exposition, 1889*
 Souvenirs of Autumn *Salon of 1888*
 Study for "The Harvest Moon"
 Study of Oak Trees, Isle of Jersey *From the Chicago Exposition*
 Lauretta
 Study for "L'Approche du Soir"
 The Campanile, Venice (drawing)
 Off Lido
 The Bay of Naples

Lithographs

Notre Dame de Paris
 The Harvest Moon *Honourable Mention, Salon of 1894*
 The Return of the Flock *Honourable Mention, Salon of 1894*
 La Mère Panneçaye *Salon of 1894*
 Portrait of Madame B *Salon of 1894*
 Portrait of Bernard Daubigny *Son of the painter. Salon of 1894*
 Portrait of Mme Karl Daubigny *Salon of 1894*
 Le Père Jorelle
 A Song of the Adriatic
 The Spinner *Salon of 1893*
 L'Approche du Soir *Salon of 1893*
 A Twilight Pastoral
 Portrait of Doctor Vanier
 Portrait of Frederick Keppel
 A Corner of the Artist's House (etching)

1895 Catalogue of an Exhibition of Paintings by Robert J. Wickenden
 of Paris, France at Messrs. Hanna & Noyes Art Galleries, East Grand
 Circus Park, Detroit, January 5-12

Robert J. Wickenden is on a short visit here before his return to Paris and after his successful exhibition at Keppel's. The Exhibitionn includes his latest and most important work; e.g. a portrait of the great author and critic Philip Gilbert Hamerton. An "intimate friend", he sat for the portrait in his own study during the past summer and fall. It was highly spoken of in New York and the Art Press, and reproduced in Harper's Weekly in November at death of Philip Gilbert Hamerton. It is the only painting Philip Gilbert Hamerton ever authorized of himself for exhibition. By the Aegean

Sea is proof that "Mr. Wickenden's strong, poetic personality has not yielded an inch before the almost overwhelming waves of materialism that have threatened to destroy all love for the beautiful in painting and literature. Although he can be as realistic as desirable when it so pleases him, he remains what he always was fundamentally, an idealist in the truest sense of the word."

Oils

1. By the Aegean Sea

"Notable in the exhibition is a delicate toned scene, 'By the Aegean Sea', in which the modelling of the Greek maiden and her flock of sheep by the seashore is superb." The Springfield (Mass.) Republican. Nov. 16, 1894.

2. Le Repas du Soir

"The nicely studied figure of an aged peasant woman, who reads as she eats her supper of bread and milk, is well illuminated by the candlelight, and contains a fine sense of mystery in the surrounding gloom.", New York Evening Post, November 3, 1894.

3. Portrait of the late Philip Gilbert Hamerton

He has arrested Hamerton's characteristic demeanor, expressing delicately the combination in the critic's face of acute mental faculties with the florid, physical qualities of the English country gentleman.", New York Tribune November 22, 1894. Photos available from Hanna & Noyes

4. Going to Market

5. L'Approche du Soir

Paris Salon 1889. Reproduced in Appleton's Recent Ideals of American Art.

6. Sunset on the Oise

"Pleasing blend of sentiment and workmanship", New York Evening Post, November 3, 1894.

7. Honored Old Age

Daubigny's studio boat Botin in garden at Auvers.

8. Morning in June

9. Portrait of Master Charles Whitney Stinchfield

10. The Naiad

11. The Return of Spring

12. Portrait of Mlle. M. D.

13. A May Morning

14. The Violets
15. Going Home
16. Whispering of Spring *From Chicago Exposition.*
17. The Village of Auvers
18. Fifiille Sleeping
19. Supper Time
20. Roadway near Auvers
21. A Poet's Corner
22. Summer Evening, Les Vallées, Auvers

Watercolours, Drawings and Auto-Lithographs

23. The Village Street, Auvers
24. After Harvest
25. Flowery Hillside, Ile de Jersey *From Paris Exposition 1889*
26. Souvenir of Autumn *From Paris Salon 1888.*
27. Lauretta (sanguine drawing)

Auto-Lithographs

28. Notre Dame de Paris \$12.00 per, 40 prints
 29. The Harvest Moon \$10.00 per, 50 prints
- Honourable Mention. Salon 1894.*
30. The Return of the Flock *Honourable Mention, Salon 1894*
 31. La Mère Panneçaye \$3.00 per, 50 prints
 32. Portrait Madame B. *Salon 1894*
 33. Portrait M. Bernard Daubigny, son of painter. *Salon 1894*
 34. Portrait Mme Karl Daubigny *Salon 1894*
 35. Le Père Jorelle \$4.00, 30 proofs only
 36. A Song of the Adriatic \$3.00, 100 proofs only
 37. The Spinner \$3.00, 100 proofs only
- Salon 1893*
38. L'Approche du Soir \$3.00, 100 proofs only
 39. A Twilight Pastoral \$3.00, 100 proofs only
 40. Portrait of Dr. Vanier, Chevalier of the Legion of Honor
 41. Portrait of Frederick Keppel
 42. A Corner of the Artist's House (etching) \$4.00 per proof
- Also available, Poems of Nature and Sentiment by the artist
- \$1.50 500 numbered copies, limited edition
- \$2.00 Bound in white and gold

1895 Exhibition at Auvers-sur-Oise

Listing of works exhibited not available

1895 Salon de la Société des Artistes Français, Paris

Portrait of Docteur Pierre Vanier

Notre-Dame de Paris

1895 Exposition International du Centenaire de la Lithographie, Paris,

September 28-November 30 (In section "lithographie artistique" as opposed to lithographie industrielle")

#1381 La Mère Panneçaye

#1382 La Rentrée du troupeau -Lune de la moisson

#1383 Notre-Dame de Paris (receives "diplôme d'honneur")

1896 Salon de la Rose+Croix, Paris, March 20-April 20

#110 La reine du sommeil

1896 Salon de la Société des Artistes Français, Paris

#4877 Le Crépuscule

1896 Exposition de Tableaux, Peintures Aquarelles et Lithographies Originales par Robert J. Wickenden, Le Nouvel Hotel de Ville, Québec, Salle 97, November 3-10**Oils**

1. Portrait of Philip Gilbert Hamerton, écrivain et critique d'art
2. Allant au Marché
3. Sapho - une pastorale
4. Le Repas du Soir
5. Soir d'été, Les Vallées, Auvers
6. Primavera
7. Le Renouveau
8. Soir de Septembre
9. Coucher du Soleil sur l'Oise, près Auvers
10. Le Couvreur en Chaume
11. Les Violettes
12. Au retour du Printemps
13. Le Lion-Jardin de Luxembourg *Appartenant à M. S. LeSage*

14. Les Primavères

15. Un coin de Seine et Oise

*16. "Bois-Brillant", résidence de Monsieur Siméon LeSage à Sainte-Foye *Appartenant à M. S. LeSage*

*17. Journée de l'Automne, près de Ste.-Foye

18. Après-midi de juin - Les Vallées, Auvers

19. Lever de Lune - Forêt de Fontainebleau

20. Soir d'Avril -Plaine d'Auvers

*21. Etude de Québec, prise de Remparts

Watercolours

22. Côtes Fleuries, Ile de Jersey *Exposition Universelle, Paris, 1889*

*23. Maison du "Ouiatchouan Fishing and Shooting Club", Lac Bouchette

*24. "Petit Rocher", maison du "Ouiatchouan Fishing and Shooting Club, près Dablon

*25. La Chute Ouiatchouan

*26. Vue du Lac Bouchette, prise près de la maison du Club

*27. La Rivière Ouiatchouan, près du Lac St. Jean

*28. Automne dans la vallée Ouiatchouan

*29. Lac St. Jean, effet d'automne

*30. Le Saguenay, près de Chicoutimi

*31. Cap St. François, près de Chicoutimi

*32. Camp des Sauvages, à la Pointe Bleue

*33. Vue de Québec, prise des Remparts

*34. La Chute Montmorency

*35. Vue de la Chute Montmorency, prise de chez M. Herbert Price

*36. Octobre - Lac Ouiatchouan \$50.00

*37. Coin de Pré, Ste-Foye

*38. Le Ruisseau - "Bois Brillant"- Ste-Foye

Original Lithographs

39. Notre-Dame de Paris. *Salon de 1895. Centenaire de la Lithographie, Paris 1895.*

40. Le Crépuscule. *Paris Salon de 1896*

41. La Mère Panneçaye. *Salon de 1894. Expositions Universelles de Lyons, et d'Anvers, 1894. Centenaire de la Lithographie Paris 1895.*

42. 1. La Rentrée du Troupeau. .

2. Lune de la Moisson. *Mention Honorable, Salon de 1894.*

43. Le Père Jorelle
 44. L'Approche du Soir: *Salon de 1893 d'après la peinture de M. Wickenden exposé au Salon de 1889*
 45. Pastorale *Salon de 1893*
 46. La Fileuse *Salon de 1893*
 47. Une Chanson de l'Adriatique *Salon de 1893*
 48. Portrait de Philip Gilbert Hamerton *Salon de 1895*
 49. Portrait de Mme B. *Salon de 1894*
 50. Portrait de Monsieur. C.
 51. Portrait de M. Bernard Daubigny, fils du peintre *Salon de 1894*
 52. Portrait de Dr. Vanier, Chevalier de la légion d'honneur *Salon de 1895*
 53. Portrait de Madame Veuve Karl Daubigny. *Salon de 1894*
 54. Portrait de Monsieur Frederick Keppel
- *= executed since Wickenden's arrival in Québec*

1897 Exhibition of Portraits by Wickenden, Quebec, April
 Listing not available

1899 Catalogue of Oil Paintings, Watercolours, Auto-Lithographs by Robert J. Wickenden, Château Frontenac, Québec, January 24-28
 (Catalogue included prices.)

Oils

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| 1. By the Aegean Sea - a Pastoral | \$500.00 |
| 2. The Mower | \$300.00 |
| 3. "When all the Woods are Green" | \$200.00 |
| 4. Une Canadienne | \$150.00 |
| 5. Summer Evening on the Oise | \$100.00 |
| 6. Soir de Septembre, Plaine d'Auvers | \$100.00 |
| 7. The Return of Springtime | \$ 75.00 |
| 8. Portrait of G.M. Fairchild. | <i>Owned by G.M. Fairchild</i> |
| 9. Portrait of Mr. John Brown. | <i>Owned by Mr. John Brown</i> |
| 10. Portrait of Philip Gilbert Hamerton | <i>NFS</i> |
| 11. Through Field and Wood | \$ 50.00 |
| 12. The Two Elms | \$ 50.00 |
| 13. Moonrise Forest of Fontainebleau | \$ 50.00 |
| 14. A Poet's Corner | \$ 50.00 |
| 15. Quebec and the St. Lawrence from the Battery | \$ 35.00 |

16. From the Glacis, Quebec	\$ 35.00
17. The Valley Fields	\$ 50.00
18. Apple Blossoms	\$ 35.00
19. Les Violettes	NFS

Watercolours

20. Montmorency Falls	\$ 40.00
21. Cap à l'Aigle from Pointe à Pic	\$ 35.00
22. Lac Bouchette from the Club House	\$ 40.00
23. Ouatichouan Falls	\$ 50.00
24. Lac au Sable, Ste-Agathe des Monts	\$ 40.00
25. Portrait of Madame F. E. Roy	Owned by Madame Roy
26. A Corner of Lake St. John	\$ 35.00
27. A Canadian Girl	\$ 20.00
28. Flowery Hillside-Island of Jersey	\$ 50.00
29. Corner of Lake Chapleau-Evening	\$ 30.00
30. Pointe à Pic, Malbaie	\$ 30.00
31. The Church Steps, Auvers sur Oise, France	\$ 20.00
32. Montagnais Camp, Lake St. John	\$ 35.00
33. The St. Lawrence from Dufferin Tower	\$ 20.00
34. The Two Birches	\$ 35.00

Auto-Lithographs (Artist's Proofs)

35. His Eminence Cardinal E. A. Taschereau \$5.00 per copy
*After portrait by Robert J. Wickenden in the Archiepiscopal Palace
 Only 100 proofs with remarques before letters, but few unsold.*
36. His Grace Monseigneur L. N. Begin, Archbishop of Quebec
*After painting by Robert J. Wickenden, 100 proofs only before
 letters signed*
by Monseigneur Begin, six unsold \$5.00 per copy.
37. Sir J. Adolphe Chapleau, late Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec
*From original painting, 100 proofs only, signed by Sir Adolphe
 Chapleau - but few remaining at \$10.00 per copy*
38. His Worship the Mayor of Quebec, the Hon. S. N. Parent
Five copies only remaining \$5.00 each
39. Notre Dame de Paris. Salon of 1895. Centenary of lithography,
 Paris, 1895. Limited to 40 copies, plate destroyed. \$10.00 per copy
40. By the Aegean Sea
25 copies \$10.00 per copy
41. An Arcadian Shepherdess.

*Salon of 1896. Reproduced in La Revue des Beaux-Arts, Paris, 1897.
\$10.00*

42. The Return of the Flock.

Salon of 1894. Centenary of lithography 1895.

43. The Harvest Moon.

*Salon of 1894. Centenary of lithography 1895. Antwerp Exhibition,
etc. Reproduced in The Art Amateur, 1895. \$10.00 per copy.*

44. La Mère Panneçaye.

*Salon of 1894. Centenary of lithography 1895. Antwerp 1894. Lyons
1894, etc. Reproduced in The Magazine of Art, London 1894. Rare
\$5.00 per copy.*

45. Le Père Jorelie *Rare.* \$5.00 per copy

46. Portrait of Philip Gilbert Hamerton

47. L'Approche du Soir

Salon de 1893. \$5.00 per copy

48. La Fileuse

49. Pastorale

1899 Ouvrages de Peinture. Sculpture. Architecture. Gravure et
Lithographie des Artistes Vivants. Palais des Machines, Avenue de
la Bourdonnais, Paris, May 1

#4904. Portrait de Sir Adolphe Chapleau, lieutenant-gouverneur de
la province de Québec

#4905. Au bord de la mer d'Aegée
(Original lithographs)

1899 Paris Salon

By the Aegean Sea (lithograph)

1899 Royal Canadian Academy, Art Association of Montreal, Opening
April 7

#144. G. M. Fairchild

#145. Sunset on the Oise *Belongs to Hon. Mr Atwater*

#146. Notre Dame

1900 Ouwages de Peinture, Sculpture, Architecture, Gravure et Lithographie des Artistes Vivants, Place de Breteuil, Paris, opening April 1
Exhibited one work.

1900 Salon de la Société des Artistes Français, Paris
Le Défricheur Canadien
Le Voyageur Canadien
H. E. The Late Cardinal Taschereau (lithograph)
The Late Sir Adolphe Chapleau KCMG (lithograph)

1900 Art Association of Montreal 19th Spring Exhibition
Titles unknown

1900 Robert J. Wickenden Exhibition, in the painter's studio
("recently from Paris", Y.M.C.A. Building, Dominion Square, Montreal, November 22, 23, 24.
Titles unknown

1901 Exhibition of Paintings by Robert J. Wickenden, Château Frontenac, Québec, January 19-26

1. Le Défricheur Canadien (The Canadian Woodsman)	\$1,000.00
<i>From Paris Exposition 1900</i>	
2. Le Voyageur Canadien	\$500.00
<i>From Paris Exposition 1900</i>	
3. Falling Leaves, Auvers, France	\$500.00
4. The Valley of the Jacques Cartier, Québec	\$350.00
5. Sappho, The Greek Poetess	\$500.00
6. The Poppy Queen	\$500.00
7. Sunday Evening	\$350.00
8. Summer Morning on the Oise, France	\$300.00
9. Sunset on the Oise, France	\$250.00
10. The Heart of the Wilderness	\$350.00
11. The Old Mill Sluice, Valcartier, Quebec	\$100.00
12. Early Spring, Plain of Auvers	\$250.00
13. Nearing Harvest	\$100.00
14. Golden Autumn	\$100.00
15. Late Afternoon, Plain of Auvers	\$35.00
16. New-Mown Hay	\$75.00

- | | |
|--|---------|
| 17. The Bees Pasture | \$50.00 |
| 18. "Where Many Poppies Grew" | \$50.00 |
| 19. Mid-Ocean | \$40.00 |
| 20. Primrose Time | \$50.00 |
| 21. Sunset at Fontenelle Farm | \$50.00 |
| 22. Portrait of Siméon Lesage, Esq. <i>Lent by S. Lesage</i> | |
| 23. "La Terre" <i>After the original by G. Bertrand in the Hôtel de Ville, Paris. Lent by G.E. Amyot, Esq.</i> | |
| Watercolours, etc. | |
| 24. Beaumont, Ile de Jersey | \$75.00 |
| 25. Ouatichouan Falls, Lake St. John | \$50.00 |
| 26. On the Jacques Cartier, Autumn | \$40.00 |
| 27. By the Aegean Sea | |
| <i>Original lithograph in the possession of Vesey Boswell, Esq.</i> | |
| <i>Exhibited Paris Salon 1899</i> | |
| 28. H. E. The Late Cardinal Taschereau | |
| <i>Original lithograph. Exhibited Paris Salon 1900.</i> | |
| 29. The Late Sir Adolphe Chapleau KCMG | |
| <i>Original lithograph. Exhibited Paris Salon 1900.</i> | |

1901 Art Association of Montreal 20th Spring Exhibition, March 8-23

- #101. The Canadian Woodsman - oil \$1,000.00
 #102. Portrait of late Philip Gilbert Hamerton -oil, painted 1894,
 NFS

1902 Royal Canadian Academy, Art Association of Montreal, Opening March 20

- #160. Sleep, poppy crowned Arthur J.
 #161. An Outremont sunset
 #162. Mrs George Fairchild, Jr.
 #163. The ripening grain , plain of Auvers

1902 Oil Paintings. Watercolours and Auto-lithographs by Robwrt J. Wickenden. Messrs. James Wilson & Co., 123 Sparks Street, Ottawa,
April 21-30

Oils

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. The Exile | \$1,000.00 |
| <i>"Je regarderai l'océan" - Victor Hugo</i> | |
| 2. The Canadian Pioneer | \$1,000.00 |
| <i>Paris Exposition of 1900.</i> | |
| 3. The Queen of Sleep | \$400.00 |
| 4. An Outremont Sunset | \$350.00 |
| 5. Sappho-The Poetess | \$400.00 |
| 6. Portrait of Philip Gilbert Hamerton | <i>Author and Art Critic</i> |
| 7. Portrait of Mrs. G.M. Fairchild, Jr. | <i>Lent by Mr. G.M. Fairchild</i> |
| 8. Primrose-time | \$40.00 |
| 9. Early Spring, Plain of Auvers | \$150.00 |
| 10. Old Stacks, near Auvers | \$150.00 |
| 11. In Autumn Fields | \$75.00 |
| 12. Mid-Ocean | \$25.00 |
| 13. Noon-tide | \$40.00 |
| 14. Picking Violets | \$60.00 |
| 15. "Where many Poppies Grew" | \$40.00 |
| 16. Sunset on the Oise near Auvers | \$150.00 |
| 17. The Mower | <i>Kindly lent by Mr. Warren Y. Soper</i> |
| 18. "A light of laughing flowers" | \$40.00 |
| 19. The Ripening Grain | \$75.00 |
| 20. "Through field and wood" | \$35.00 |
| 21. Autumn at Valcartier, Quebec | \$400.00 |

Watercolours

- | | |
|---|---------|
| 22. Near Beaumont, Isle of Jersey | \$60.00 |
| 23. Cap à l'Aigle, from Pointe à Pic | \$30.00 |
| 24. Birch Study-Late Autumn | \$25.00 |
| 25. Lake St. John, Autumn | \$30.00 |
| 26. Flowery Hillsides, Isle of Jersey | \$35.00 |
| 27. Old Mill at Valcartier, Quebec | \$50.00 |
| 28. The Valley of the Jacques Cartier, Quebec | \$30.00 |
| 29. The Vesper Hour | \$25.00 |
| 30. On St. Paul's Island near Montreal | \$30.00 |
| 31. Montmorency River near the Bridge | \$30.00 |

Auto-Lithographs

32. The Canadian Pioneer 100 proofs \$5 per proof
 33. Notre-Dame de Paris 100 proofs \$10. per proof
Paris Salon 1895, Centenary of lithography 1895
 34. (The Return of the Flock \$10. per proof
 (The Harvest Moon
Mention Honorable, Salon of 1894, Paris
 35. La Mère Panneçaye \$5.00
Salon of 1894 and Centenary of Lithography
 36. The Twilight Hour \$10.00
Salon of 1896-30 copies
 37. The Late Sir J. Adolphe Chapleau, KCMG \$10
From the painting by Mr. WICKENDEN, now at Spencer Wood
100 copies, Salon of 1899
 38. By the Aegean Sea \$10
Salon of 1899
 39. His Eminence the late Cardinal Taschereau \$10
From the original painting by Mr. WICKENDEN, in the Archbishop's
Palace, Québec
Salon of 1900- 100 copies

1902 RJW Exhibition at the Château Frontenac, Quebec City, May 22-29

Little Master Boswell
 Portrait-Edson Fitch
 Portrait-Herbert M. Price
 Portrait-Miss Iris Piddington
 Portrait - Mrs. G. M. Fairchild, Jr.
 Portrait-Mme. George E. Amyot
 Portrait-Mons. Gagnon
 The Exile
 An Outremont Sunset *From. RCA 1902*
 The Canadian Woodsman
 Autumn near Valcartier
 The Harvest Sunset
 ...about 30 more paintings

1903 Catalogue of Paintings by Robert Wickenden (who is about to return to Paris) to be sold by auction without reserve at the Château Frontenac on Thursday and Friday January 22 and 23, 1903. (Pictures on Exhibition - Empire Room, Château Frontenac 10-6.) A.J. Maxham, auctioneers.

1. The Canadian Woodsman. *Exhibited Paris Exposition of 1900.*
2. An Outremont Sunset *Exhibited Royal Canadian Academy 1902.*
3. The Lark's Song
4. Iris-the Spirit of the Shower
5. Autumn in the Jacques Cartier Valley, near Valcartier
6. The Shepherdess
7. The Ripening Grain *Exhibited Royal Canadian Academy 1902*
8. The Bouquet
9. Supper-time
10. Harvest Sunset
11. The End of the Village, Auvers
12. "Beside the Still Waters"-Pastoral
13. The Old Stacks, Plain of Auvers
14. Blossom-time
15. In Autumn Fields
16. When the Snow Melts, Mount Royal
17. Early Spring, Plain of Auvers, France
18. When the "Kye Cam' Hame"
19. The Gleaner's Return
20. Mid-Ocean
21. The Gathering Night
22. A Jacques Cartier Trout
23. The Return of Spring-time
24. In the Green-Wood
25. A May Morning
26. St. Mary's Mill, Isle of Jersey
27. Breezy June
28. Primrose-time
29. Homeward Bound
30. "Where Many Poppies Grew"
31. "La Terre" , after Bertrand
32. When the "Sainfoin" Flowers - Plain of Auvers, France
33. A Sheep Study

Watercolours

- 34. The Duet
- 35. The Old Church Steps, Auvers-sur-Oise
- 36. A Summer Morning, near Beaumont, Isle of Jersey
- 37. Murray Bay
- 38. Lake St. John in Autumn
- 39. Natural Steps, Montmorency River
- 40. Old Mill, at Valcartier - Autumn
- 41. The Jacques Cartier Valley-Sunset
- 42. The Gleaners
- 43. The Island, St. Louis Rd.
- 44. The St. Louis Rd., near Graddon's Hill-Autumn
- 45. A Quiet Reach of the Jacques Cartier
- 46. The Vesper-Hour
- 47. The St. Lawrence from Dufferin Terrace-Evening
- 48. After Harvest, Plain of Auvers
- 49. The Montmorency, near the Fairy River

1904 Royal Canadian Academy, Art Association of Montreal, Opening
March 17

- #171. Autumn Evening
- #326. Notre Dame de Paris - b & w

1905 Art Association of Montreal 22nd Spring Exhibition, March 17-
April 4

- | | |
|--|------------|
| #115. The Exiled Poet: "Je regarderai l'Océan" | \$1,000.00 |
| #116. Portrait of Miss W | |
| #117. The Lake, Ste Adèle | \$100.00 |
| #118. A Woodland Path, Ste Adèle | \$75.00 |
| #119. An Autumn Field | \$75.00 |
| #120. Gathering the Flock Auvers-sur-Oise | \$50.00 |
| #121. The Old Shepherd | \$50.00 |
| #245. J. George Adami, M.D. <i>Drawing</i> | |

1905 Royal Canadian Academy, Ontario Society of Artists Gallery,
Toronto, Opening May 12

- #193. The Queen of the Night
- #194. The hayfield

#195. La mère Panneçaye (auto-lithograph)

#196. The pioneer (lithograph)

1905 Exhibition of Paintings by R.J. Wickenden, Château Frontenac,
Quebec, Red Room-Chat F., Tuesday June 6-13

Oils

1. The Exiled Poet \$1,000.00
"Je regarderai, l'océan"-Victor Hugo From Montreal Art Association
1905

2. The Lake at Ste Adele, Laurentian Hills \$250.00

3. A Corner of Lake Chapleau \$250.00

4. In Autumn Fields \$100.00

Montreal Art Association 1905

5. The Lake at Evening St Adele \$150.00

6. Homewards \$150.00

7. Autumn, Laurentian Hills \$100.00

8. Sunset on the Oise \$ 60.00

9. Autumn Leaves \$100.00

10. The Early Ploughman \$ 50.00

11. The Old Shepherd \$ 50.00

Montreal Art Association 1905

12. The Rainbow \$ 50.00

13. Golden Eve \$ 40.00

14. The Waning Year, Ste Adele \$ 35.00

15. Partridge (Still-Life) \$ 50.00

16. Red-Head Ducks (Still-Life) \$ 50.00

17. The Old Orchard \$ 75.00

18. The Church Steps, Auvers-sur-Oise \$ 75.00

19. Gathering Flock \$ 50.00

Montreal Art Association 1905

20. A Woodland Path, Ste Adele \$100.00

Montreal Art Association 1905

21. The Jersey Coast, Channel Islands \$ 35.00

22. The Lake in June \$ 50.00

23. Early Spring near Paris \$ 50.00

24. When Spring Returns \$100.00

25. The Old Spinner \$ 50.00

26. June Morning, Plain of Auv. \$ 50.00

27. The Magpies	\$ 40.00
28. The Mower	\$100.00
29. When the Snow Melts, Mount Royal	\$ 60.00
30. May-Time	\$ 50.00
31. The Natural Steps, Montmorency River	\$ 36.00
32. The Canal	\$ 35.00
33. Study for painting "By the Aegean Sea"	\$ 50.00
34. Returning from Pasture	\$ 35.00
35. Ile St. Paul, St. Lawrence River	\$ 40.00
36. A Corner of the Lake, Evening, Ste Adele	\$ 35.00
37. The Valley of the Ouatichouan, Lake St. John	\$ 35.00
38. Montagnais Camp, Pointe Bleu, Lake St. John	\$ 40.00
39. Evening on the Jacques Cartier	\$ 40.00

1907 Exhibition of Recent Aquisitions of American Work, New York Public Library, Print Department, Lenox Library Building, 5th Avenue & 70th Street, New York. March-May. (Painter-etchings, engravings, lithographs in exhibition) Included prints by Robert Wickenden.

1907 Paintings by Robert J. Wickenden, Château Frontenac, Québec, June 5

1. Portrait of the late Honourable William Rhodes
Minister of Agriculture, Province of Quebec; Lieutenant-Colonel 68th Light Infantry
2. Sir James MacPherson Lemoine
Painted from life in 1902 and presented to Sir James by a group of friends and admirers Coronation Day 1902 in the presence of Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Minto, Sir Louis and Lady Jetté at Spencer Grange, near Sillery, Quebec.
3. Maples in Autumn \$150.00
4. A Connecticut Roadway \$150.00
Reproduced in the New York Herald Art Supplement, May 12, 1907.
5. Near Ste-Adèle, Québec \$100.00
6. The North River near Ste-Adèle \$ 75.00
7. A Hillside Sugar Camp \$150.00
8. In the Clearing \$100.00
9. Through the Orchard \$100.00
10. Ruffed Grouse \$ 50.00

- | | |
|--|----------|
| 11. Brook-Trout | \$ 40.00 |
| 12. Indian Summer | \$ 75.00 |
| 13. The End of the Day, Auvers, France | \$ 75.00 |
| <i>Reproduced in facsimile in the <u>Art Amateur</u> magazine.</i> | |
| 14. Elm and Maple, a Fall Study | \$ 40.00 |
| 15. Corn Harvest | \$ 35.00 |
| 16. A Woodland Glimpse | \$ 25.00 |
| 17. The Rapids (Bridge Jacques Cartier near Déry's) | \$ 35.00 |
| 18. Déry's Bridge, Jacques Cartier River | \$ 35.00 |
| 19. The Gorge, Jacques-Cartier River | \$ 35.00 |
| 20. The Island, Jacques-Cartier River | \$ 35.00 |
| 21. Lac Millet in August | \$ 25.00 |

1907 Paintings, Objects of Art and Jewellery from the Estate of the late Phillipe Huot. Also an Important Collection of Oil and Watercolour paintings (Cabinet Size) by Robert J. Wickenden.

Auction: Morency Art Rooms, 183 St. John Street, Quebec, Monday December 16, 1907 at 7:30 p.m. A.J. Maxham & Co. Auctioneers.

- 12. The Rainbow
- 13. Golden Eye
- 14. The Waning Year
- 18. The Church Steps
- 19. Gathering the Flock. *Montreal Art Association 1907*
- 21. Jersey Coast
- 23. Early Spring
- 27. The Magpies
- 29. When the Snow Melts
- 30. Study of Trout

Watercolours

- 34. Returning from Pasture
- 35. The Valley of the Ouiatchouan
- 36. Montagnais Camp
- 37. Evening on the Jacques Cartier

1910 - Paintings, Drawings, Engravings, Etchings By Famous Artists of the Nineteenth Century, the Property of Robert J. Wickenden. The Anderson Art Galleries, 12 East 46th Street, New York, March 31, April 1

Studio Effects including Rugs, Antiques, Paintings, Engravings, the Property of Robert J. Wickenden, April 23

(211 items including the following items by Wickenden)

Oils

The Gloaming-Elmwood
 A Fisherman's Breakfast
 Canadian Woods
 Fresh Trout
 Corn Harvest
 Hugo in Exile "Je Regarderai l'Océan"
 Diana Americana
 Portrait of Philip Gilbert Hamerton
 Maples in Autumn-Laurentian Hills
 A Connecticut Roadway
 Sunset at Elmwood
 October Glories- Connecticut Hills
 After Sunset-Jacques Cartier River, Quebec
 Noontide, Plain of Auvers-France
 The Belated Traveller
 A Maple Sugar Camp near Ste Adèle, Que.
 Through the Orchard (Laurentians)
 Greylock and Pittsfield from South Mountain
 A Breezy Day- Onota Lake near Pittsfield, Mass.
 The End of the Day
 The River Road Near Ste Adèle, Que.
 Ruffed Grouse, Canvas
 Poplar Browsings, Canvas
 The Brookside (Conn.)
 In Connecticut
 The Berkshire Foothills:August
 Indian Summer-Lac Rond, Laurentian Hills

Lithographs

Notre Dame: Paris
 Notre Dame: Paris #1 of 2 proofs of this state, on Japan paper

Twilight in Arcady #30 of 330 signed proofs, on India paper
 By the Aegean Sea. #8 of 25 signed proofs, on India paper
 La Mère Panneçaye Signed artist's proof on thin Japan paper, #21 of
 a very limited issue with the artist's stamp.
 The Pioneer Signed trial proof on China paper.
 The Harvest Moon Signed artist's proof on Japan paper
 Return of the flock One of 3 proofs of the 1st state, signed.
 Portrait of P.G. Hamerton Unique signed trial proof on "papier
 verdâtre", marked 1st state by artist, stone effaced
 P.G. Hamerton One of 40 remarque proofs, signed by artist, on white
 paper.
 Portrait of Doctor Pierre Vanier Inscribed proof, one of 30 printed,
 stone destroyed
 Portrait of Mr. Frederick Keppel Signed by the artist, on Van Guelder
 paper
 Le Pere Jorelle Trial proof on Japan paper, 40 issued, signed by
 artist
 L'Approche du Soir First and second states, one signed by artist, one
 of two pieces
 Song of the Adriatic Signed proof in India paper
 Twilight Pastoral Two pieces-one the first state, both signed. One
 on india paper
 The Spinner First state and another, 2 pieces, both signed by artist

1913 Exhibition at Canada Club Banquet, London, April 25

H. R. H. King Edward VII (in Civil Dress)

1913 Provincial Exhibition, Halifax, September

H. R. H. King Edward VII (in Civil Dress)

1915 Art Association of Montreal 32nd Spring Exhibition, March 26-
April 17

#354. Portrait of Sir William Van Horne

1915 Salon de la Charité, Quebec, May

Works exhibited unknown

1916 Art Association of Montreal 33rd Spring Exhibition

#301. His Late Majesty King Edward VII

#302. Hon. A. W. Atwater, K.C., Batonnier of the Montreal Bar

1916 Royal Canadian Academy, Art Association of Montreal,
November 16-December 16

#232. Portrait

#318. Sir Thomas More, after a Durer etching

#319. Portrait crayon

1916 Wilson & Co. Gallery, Ottawa, Opening December 6
Portrait of His Late Majesty King Edward VII (in Field-Marshal's
Uniform and Robes of State)

1916 Exhibition of Robert J. Wickenden, James Wilson & Sons,
Ottawa, December

Oils

1. Artemise
2. Moonrise, Blue Sea Lake
3. Blue Sea Lake from near "L'Hermitage"
4. "L'Hermitage" from the Lake
5. The Maple Grove near l'Hermitage
6. Sunrise over Mist, Blue Sea Lake

Watercolours

7. The Mouth of the Gatineau, Evening
8. October Sunrise, Blue Sea Lake
9. Sunset: Rockcliffe Pointe
10. A Gatineau Glimpse above Cascades
11. Sunset on the Ottawa near Rockcliffe
12. October: Rockcliffe
13. Blue Sea Lake in Autumn
14. Clearing After Storm: Blue Sea Lake
15. The Minnow Creek, near Ellard, Blue Sea Lake
16. Down the Ottawa from Rockcliffe
17. Gatineau Point: Sunset
18. The Autumn Woods near Blue Sea Lake
19. Rockhurst Point, Blue Sea Lake
21. Blue Sea Lake, from near Ellard

1917 Exhibition of Oil Paintings, Watercolours and Prints by Robert J. Wickenden. Athenaeum Annex Gallery, Hartford, Conn., December 17-29

Oils

1. The Bird-House: June
2. An Orchard Glimpse
3. The Passing Shower
4. A Connecticut By-Way: October
5. When Spring Returns
6. Portrait of Philip Gilbert Hamerton

This is the only portrait painted in oil colour of the eminent author and art critic. Upon its exhibition in New York soon after it was painted, Royal Cortissoz, then, as now, art critic for the New York Tribune, wrote an appreciative notice of the portrait, founded on a personal acquaintance with the subject.

7. October Hillside
8. The Abandoned Railroad
9. Evening in the Garden
10. Sunset after Storm
11. Forsythia Blooms
12. Springtime in Connecticut
13. Diana Americana
14. Wayside Blossoms
15. Motherhood
16. May Morning
17. Indian Summer
18. A Veteran
19. October: Elmwood
20. A Tri-Centenarian
21. Maples: Hoyt's Hill
22. Apple Harvest
23. Rivière à Mulet: Laurentian Hills
24. Portrait Study
25. Breezy October: Laurentian Hills
26. Early Spring: Plumtrees Valley
27. A Roadside Glimpse
28. Sunrise

"Hark! Hark! the lark at heaven's gate sings

And Phoebus 'gins arise. - Shakespeare

29. Spring Lamb
30. The Gloaming: Elmwood
31. An Old Inhabitant: Lake Kenosia
32. Connecticut Brook Trout
33. Déjeuner à la Japonaise
34. Graylock and Pittsfield from South Mountain
35. Hoeing Corn
36. Corn Shocks: October
37. Portrait Sketch
38. Orchard in Spring
39. Maple Sugar Camp: Quebec
40. Berkshire Foothills: July
41. A Fall Bouquet

Watercolours

42. Grant's Creek near Blue Sea Lake, P. Q.
43. Corner of Lake Millet, P. Q.
44. The Jacques Cartier River, near Pont Rouge
45. The Gatineau River, near Ottawa
46. Clearing after a Storm, Blue Sea Lake
47. The Gorge: Jacques Cartier River near Pont Rouge, P. Q.
48. Autumn Woods
49. Sunset: Lake Kenosia
50. Corner of Lake Pontoosuc
51. The Gatineau Shore, near Cascades, P. Q.
52. Blue Sea Lake, P. Q.

Lithographs, Etchings, etc.

53. Notre Dame de Paris *Very rare*

Paris Salon of 1895. At the Centenary of Lithography held at Paris in 1895 this was given the place of honour in the British-American Section and qualified as "chef d'oeuvre" by Philippe Gilles, then critic of Le Figaro.

54. Twilight in Arcadia 30 proofs *Paris Salon of 1896*

55. By the Aegean Sea 25 proofs *Paris Salon of 1899*

56. H. H. Sir Adolphe Chapleau, Governor of the Province of Quebec
1892-1897 *Paris Salon of 1899. After the painting by Mr.
Wickenden.*
57. H. E. Cardinal Taschereau.
Paris Salon of 1900
58. The Harvest Moon
Mention Honorable Paris Salon 1894.
59. The Return of the Flock
Mention Honorable Paris Salon 1894.
60. Portrait of Philip Gilbert Hamerton
Paris Salon 1895.
61. The Pioneer *After the original painting exhibited at the Paris
Universal Exposition of 1900, and purchased by the Province of
Quebec.*
62. Sir James Lemoine
Historical writer
63. La Mère Panneçaye *Salon of 1894*
*Reproduced in the London Magazine of Art, January 1897 and cited by
Frederick Keppel and F. Weitenkampf in their various books and
articles treating of artistic lithography.*
64. Mme. Begon
65. M. Bernard Daubigny
66. Mme. Karl Daubigny *Widow of the painter*
67. The Approach of Evening
68. The Spinner
69. A Twilight Pastoral
70. A Song of the Adriatic
71. Corner of the Artist's House at Auvers-sur-Oise, France.
Etching
72. Sir Thomas More
*Etched after the recently discovered portrait by Albert Dürer,
painted about 1521.*
73. Portrait of Mr. Frederick Keppel. *Etching expert and author*
74. Dr. Adami
*Professor of Pathology at Cambridge and McGill University,
commissioned with rank of Colonel to write the medical history of
the present war.*
75. Le Père Jorelle

76. Portrait of the Artist

1918 RJW Exhibition of Oils and Watercolours, Curtis Art Co., 25
West Main Street, Waterbury, Conn January 12-February 2

Portrait of Philip Gilbert Hamerton

Motherhood

An Old Inhabitant

Sunrise "*Hark! Hark! the lark at Heaven's gate sings, and Phoebus
'gins arise.*"

Evening in the Garden

A Veteran

Diana Americana

Indian Summer

...incomplete listing

1919 Exhibition of Robert J. Wickenden, James Wilson and Co.,
Ottawa, October 22-31

Oils

1. The laying of the Corner Stone of the Victory Tower by H.R.H. The
Prince of Wales
2. Evening on the Ottawa from Major Park
3. Breezy October - The Rockcliffe Shore
4. The Chateau Laurier and Rideau Locks
5. Hog's Back Falls
6. Booth's Mills, Evening
7. The Gatineau below Chelsea Falls
8. Misty Evening, Chelsea Falls
9. A Rockcliffe Glimpse
10. Gatineau Park

Watercolours

11. Rockcliffe Birches
12. The Rainbow, Hog's Back Falls
13. Sunset - Rideau River
14. The Gatineau, above Chelsea Falls
15. The Rideau, below Billings Bridge
16. The Gloaming - Rideau River
17. Chelsea Falls
18. Parliamentary Library, Evening

19. The Watering Place, Rideau River
20. September, Rideau River
21. Chelsea Maples

1920 Exhibition of Paintings by Robert J. Wickenden, The Mohr Art Galleries, 915 Madison Avenue, Toledo Ohio, January 19-31

1. An American Diana
2. The Lark's Song
3. An Old Oak, Lake Kenosia
4. Portrait, Philip Gilbert Hamerton
5. Evening, Jacques Cartier River
6. Fall Study, Laurentian Hills
7. A Scarred Veteran
8. A Passing Shower
9. A May Morning
10. A Spring Shower
11. A Spring Song
12. Portrait Study
13. Forsythia Blossoms
14. The Edge of the Clearing
15. Fall Bouquet
16. A Cup of Tea
17. Indian Summer, Connecticut Hills
18. Roadside Blossoms
19. Autumn near Bethel, Conn.
20. The Bird House
21. Laying the Corner Stone of the Victory Tower by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales
22. The Charter Oak, Hartford, Conn.
23. Main Street, Danbury, Conn. April 1919
24. Plum Trees Valley, Bethel, Conn.
25. Old Road in Autumn
26. Misty Sunset, Lake Kenosia
27. Bacchus Creek
28. Celestial Fires
29. Maples in Autumn, Laurentian Hills
30. A Glimpse of the Ottawa-Autumn
31. The Ottawa below Rockcliffe

Mr. Robert J. Wickenden is an American by birth but has spent many years abroad, where he painted the portrait of King Edward VII, in 1912 and 1913. An exhibition of his work has not been show in Toledo since 1890, when he exhibited a number of his paintings, including several Paris Salon pictures. He received Honorable Mentions at the Paris Salon in 1894. His works have been shown in various international exhibitions in Europe, Canada and the United States, and he is represented in many notable private collections. Since his return from overseas service in February 1919, after serving in France as Captain in the American Red Cross he has held a very successful exhibition in Canada and has painted several portraits of importance.

1920 Group Exhibition, Gallery of Ovington Building, Brooklyn,
December

Portrait of Philip Gilbert Hamerton
"View of the Hay Barn"
...incomplete listing

1921 Art Association of Montreal 38th Spring Exhibition
#279. Avida (watercolour)

1922 (Group?) Exhibition, Curtis Art Company, Waterbury, Conn.,
January 12-February 2

101. Déjeuner's la Japonaise
102. Diana Americana
103. Portrait of Philip Gilbert Hamilton
104. October Hillside
105. Portrait Study
106. Plum-trees Valley: Springtime
107. Maple Sugar Camp, Quebec
108. Spring Lamb
109. The Bird House
110. A Tri-Centenarian
111. A Veteran
112. Connecticut Brook Trout
113. Motherhood
114. The Passing Shower

115. Moonrise, Plain of Auvers, France
116. Indian Summer
117. An Orchard Glimpse
118. October: Elmwood
119. Wayside Blossoms
120. May Blossoms
121. Hoeing Corn
122. The Gloaming: Elmwood
123. The Church of Auvers, France
124. Leafy June
125. A May Morning
126. The Abandoned Railroad
127. When Spring Returns
128. Breezy October, Laurentian Hills
129. Jacques Cartier River - Evening
130. Celestial Fires
131. A Gatineau Glimpse
132. Corn Shocks, October
133. The Gatineau Shore, near Cascades, Quebec
134. The Autumn Woods
135. Grant's Creek, Blue Sea Lake, Quebec
136. September Morning
137. A Laurentian Valley, October
138. The Clearing after the Storm, Blue Sea Lake, Quebec
139. Birch-tree and Birch Canoe
140. Jacques Cartier River, Quebec
141. Corner of Lake Millet, Quebec
142. Headwaters of the Houtsatonic
143. Lake Road, Laurentian Hills
144. Jacques Cartier River near Pont Rouge, Quebec
145. An Old Inhabitant, Lake Kenosia, near Danbury
146. Sunrise
147. A Roadside Glimpse
148. Evening in the Garden
149. Autumn, Hoyt's Hill, Bethel
150. Forsythia Bloom
151. The Three Maples
152. Spring Sunshine, from Hoyt's Hill, Bethel

- 154. A Connecticut Valley in May
- 155. The Rose Bonnet, Portrait Sketch
- 156. Rosina, Sketch

1922 Exhibition and Sale of Paintings by Robert J. Wickenden,
James Wilson & Co., Ottawa, January 24-February 7

Oils

- 1. The Return of the Herd
- 2. The Lone Trail
- 3. H.R.H. The Prince of Wales laying the corner stone of the Peace Tower
- 4. A Cup of Tea
- 5. Laurentian Maples
- 6. A Passing Shower
- 7. Autumn Trophies
- 8. Corn Husking
- 9. Dawn

*"Hark! Hark! the Lark at Heaven's Gate Sings,
And Phoebus 'gins arise" -Shakespeare*

- 10. Indian Summer
- 11. Misty Sunset
- 12. Breezy Day, Hudson Highlands
- 13. Spring Lamb
- 14. Wayside Blossoms
- 15. The Muskeg Lands, Upper St. Maurice
- 16. Partridges (still-life)
- 17. April
- 18. Chelsea Falls
- 19. The Mill Pond
- 21. The Scarred Veteran
- 22. The Bird House
- 23. The Young Widow
- 24. Spring Sunshine
- 25. "When Woods are Green" near St. Andrews East, P.Q.
- 26. Portrait of Philip Gilbert Hamerton NFS
- 27. Hungarian Partridge
- 28. Glimpse of Lake Kenosia, Autumn
- 29. The "Annie's" Last Mooring

30. Noon, North River near St. Andrew's East, P.Q.

Watercolours

- 31. Grey Day, North River, P.Q.
- 32. Indian Camp, St. Maurice R.
- 33. Rideau River, September
- 34. Evening, Jacques Cartier River
- 35. Pine Point, Lake St. Joseph
- 36. Sunrise, Blue Sea Lake
- 37. The Gatineau above Chelsea Falls
- 38. Sunset on the St. Maurice
- 39. Sorting the Logs, on the St. Maurice R. above Three Rivers
- 40. Hog's Back Falls, Rideau River
- 41. Rapids of the Jacques Cartier near Pont Rouge
- 42. Corn Harvest
- 43. Chelsea Falls
- 44. Poisson Blanc Lake, Flamand, P.Q.
- 45. Sunset, Blue Sea Lake
- 46. Sunset, St. Maurice Valley
- 47. Padanaram, Mill Pond
- 48. October, St. Anne's River near Beupré
- 49. Corner of Lake Millet, P.Q.
- 50. From the Coteau, Three Rivers
- 52. The Gorge, Pointe Seche, Lower St. Lawrence
- 53. Sunset from the Rockcliffe Shore

1922 Exhibition by the well-known painter and art critic Robert J. Wickenden, Johnson Art Gallery, Montreal, March 7-25

- 1. Portrait of the late Sir William Van Horne *Painted from life, 1906*
- 2. Portrait of Philip Gilbert Hamerton, author and etcher
- 3. Spring Sunshine
- 4. October Evening, Lake Kenosia
- 5. Indian Summer
- 6. The Passing Shower
- 7. Laurentian Maples, Ste Adele
- 8. The Mill Pond
- 9. Anneville Creek near Peekskill
- 11. Corn Harvest (watercolour)

12. Portrait Study
13. April-Plumtrees Valley
14. Corn Husking
15. Dawn
16. The Lone Trail
17. The Bird House
18. Muskeg Lands - Upper St Maurice
19. A Cup of Tea
20. Still Life-Hungarian Partridge
21. Hoeing Corn
22. The Edge of the Clearing
23. Noon, North River near St. Andrews East
24. Corn-Shocks
25. Spring Lamb
26. The Old Oak, Lake Kenosia
27. An Autumn Glimpse
28. Autumn Pastoral
29. The Lone Fisherman
30. Wayside Blossoms
31. Evening on the Jacques Cartier
32. The Scarred Veteran
33. The Fall of the Year
34. "When Woods are Green" from "Abernoi", St. Andrews East, P. Q.
35. An Autumn Impression, Valcartier, P. Q.
36. Fall Pastures
37. October Morning, Hudson Highlands
38. Misty Sunset, Lake Kenosia
39. Poisson Blanc Lake (watercolour)
40. The St. Maurice near Trois Rivières
41. Sorting the Logs, Trois Rivières
42. The St. Maurice above Trois Rivières
43. A Glimpse from the Coteau
44. Sunset St Maurice River
45. Glimpse of the St. Lawrence near Pointe Seche
46. Pine Point, Lake St. Joseph, P. Q.
47. Sunrise, Blue Sea Lake, P. Q.
48. Bywaters of the Rideau, September
49. Jacques Cartier River, Evening

50. The Mill Road
51. Grey Day, North River near St. Andrews East
52. Prince of Wales Falls, Rideau River
53. Rapids of the Jacques Cartier near Pont Rouge
54. Sunset on the Ottawa near Rockcliffe
55. The Parliamentary Library, Ottawa
56. Grant's Creek, Blue Sea Lake, P.Q.
57. St. Anne River near Beaupré, P.Q.
58. The Road to the Cache near Flamand, P.Q.
59. The Young Mother
60. Clear Morning, St. Maurice River
61. Gatineau above Chelsea Falls
62. The Rideau near Ottawa
63. An Old Cache (St. Maurice River)
64. Coucou Cache Lake, P.Q., from the Old Hudson Bay Post
65. Coucou Cache Lake Mountain from the Lake
66. The Ottawa River from Rockcliffe Park
67. Indian Camp, Upper St. Maurice

1922 Art Association of Montreal 39th Spring Exhibition, March 21-
April 15

#318. Autumn Trophies \$250.00

1923 Exhibition and Sale of Paintings of Robert J. Wickenden, James
Wilson & Co., Ottawa, January 18-February 1

The Willows in Spring

The Bywash

Misty Morning on Parliament Hill

Sunset at Rockcliffe

Boiling Sap near Ste. Adele

Portrait of Miss Kathleen Ryan (*granddaughter of the late Dr.
Chapleau*)

La France Roses

...incomplete listing

1923 Forty-eight Landscapes in Oil and Watercolour by Robert J. Wickenden. The Carroll Gallery Limited, Toronto, March 19-April 7
Foreword

At the Paris Salon Of 1884, Whistler exhibited his portrait of Thomas Carlyle, now in the Corporation Gallery at Glasgow. Hanging beside it was a wood-interior, entitled "La Glaneuse en Forêt, painted during the previous autumn in the forest of Fontainebleau, by Robert J. Wickenden. It was the young artist's first contribution to the Salon, where, during many successive years, he exhibited various works, receiving a "Mention Honorable" in 1894. He was represented by two works at the Paris Expositions of 1889 and 1900, as well as at other International Exhibitions at Paris, Lyons, Antwerp, Munich, Chicago, etc, receiving recognition and diplomas.

Three visits were made to Canada, for the painting of official portraits, and he also produced many landscapes, pastorals and river scenes. After seventeen years residence in France, he finally came with his family, to Montreal, in 1900, and this city became its headquarters for many years.

Portraiture occupied much of his time, always. Among the best from his brush, is the full-length, life-size portrait of King Edward VII, commissioned by the Nova Scotian Government, and now in the Legislative Council Chamber, at Halifax. Another of the same Monarch, in full robes of state, hangs in the Parliament Buildings at Ottawa. Others include the well-known writer and Art critic, Philip Gilbert Hamerton, painted from life in Paris, 1894, and later those of Sir William Van Horne, Sir James LeMoine, Sir Adolphe Chapleau, and Sir Louis Jetté, (the two latter painted for the province of Quebec), Cardinal Taschereau, etc.

In the Laurentian Hills, he found landscape subjects that inspired a number of canvases, and to the treatment of Canadian and New World landscape, he brought the Barbizon tradition, freshened perhaps by a more modern and lyrical touch.

The artist was born at Rochester, Kent, England, where his earlier education was obtained at Sir Joseph Williamson's School, and later, in Paris, he studied at the Ecole des Beaux Arts, under Ernest Hébert, and Luc-Olivier Merson; but it was at the Louvre, and in studying the Old Masters, and those of Barbizon, that

his style was formed. In 1888, at Auvers-sur-Oise, near Paris, he, for a time, occupied the studio of Daubigny, and had his country home in this picturesque village during some thirteen years. In the early "nineties", with Whistler and others, he aided in the Renaissance of Artistic Lithography at Paris, and was chosen as one of the fifty members of the Société des Peintres Lithographes, which included Fantin-Latour, Willette, Steinlen, and other masters of the "crayon-gras".

Of the artist's pictures in 1894, the late Henri Hamel, the Editor, wrote in the "Revue des Beaux-Arts" of Robert Wickenden's works as follows:-

"They are Art of elevated character, they express extraordinary grandeur, and there is nothing in the work of Millet, more intensely pastoral and poetic."

Incidentally, in so active a career, we might mention that as a writer and lecturer on Art subjects, Mr. Wickenden has contributed to various magazines and publications, and has been heard from platforms at Columbia University, New York, The Art Association of Montreal, The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, and in other cities. Successful Exhibitions of his paintings have been held in a number of the larger cities of the United States, and in Canada at Montreal, Québec, and Ottawa. We now have the honour of inviting Toronto Art Lovers to view the artists' most recent landscape paintings in both oil and watercolour.

THE CARROLL GALLERY

LIMITED

Oils

1. The Return of the Herd
2. Dawn "Hark! Hark! The Lark at Heaven's Gate Sings, and Phoebus 'gins arise" - Shakespeare
3. Laurentian Pastoral
4. A Scarred Veteran
5. Moonrise, Lake Kenosia
6. Corn-Shocks
7. Old Farm-House, Montreal Island
8. October
9. Misty Sunset, Lake Kenosia
10. Laurentian Maples

11. The Mill Pond
12. Apple Harvest
13. The Watering Place, Rideau River near Ottawa
14. Corn Harvest
15. Evening, Lake Kenosia
16. Indian Summer
17. Evening, Jacques Cartier River
18. From the Kingsmere Road, near Ottawa
19. Chelsea Falls
20. The Lone Fisherman
21. The Bent Oak
22. Anneville Creek, Hudson River
23. Wayside Blossoms
24. Deschenes Rapids-Ottawa River
25. Partridges-Still Life
26. La France Roses

Watercolours

27. Sunrise, Blue Sea Lake
28. The Path through the Woods
29. The Brook at Evening
30. Sunset, Rideau River
31. The Return of Spring, Rideau River
32. October-Fairy Lake
33. Grey Day-North River
34. Grant's Creek, near Blue Sea Lake
35. The Mill Pond
36. Cou-Cou Cache Lake
37. Early Spring, Rideau Canal
38. Sunset- St. Maurice River
39. Spring Freshet, Rideau River
40. The Rideau, near Ottawa
41. Banks of the Rideau in June
42. Sunset, Deschenes Rapids, Ottawa River
43. Evening, Rivière des Prairies, near Montreal
44. Sunset on the Coteau, near Three Rivers, P.Q.
45. The St. Lawrence, near Pointe aux Trembles
46. The Bathing Pool, Riviere des Prairies
47. The Ottawa, near Guyon

48. Summer Afternoon, Rideau River

1923 Spring Exhibition of Paintings and Watercolours from The Carroll Gallery, London, England and Selected Works by Modern Canadian Artists.

Toronto, May 2-26

Works exhibited by Wickenden unknown.

1924 Exhibition of Max Hermann, Andrew T. Schwartz and Robert J. Wickenden, Ovington Studios, Brooklyn, January 19-February 2

Sleeping Child

Woodchuck Lodge

Sunrise, Blue Sea Lake

Cutting Corn

Sugar Camp, Laurentians

...incomplete listing

1924 At home of Artists of Ovington Studios, Brooklyn

13. La Mère Panneçaye (lithograph)

Notre-Dame de Paris (lithograph)

26. Breezy Day, Ottawa River (watercolour)

The Banks of the Seine (1886 watercolour)

...more recent watercolours...incomplete listing

1924 Exhibition of Paintings by Robert J. Wickenden, The Neighbourhood Club, Brooklyn Heights, December 5, 1924-January 3, 1925.

As a writer, Mr. Wickenden also has an important place. He is the authorized historian of the Masters of the Barbizon School. In his earlier days, he lived for a time at Auvers-sur-Oise intimately associated with the Daubigny family and here found a precious source of information. His studies of J.-F. Millet, Corot, Charles Jacques are highly regarded.

1. An Autumn Pastoral

2. Sunrise: Old Brooklyn

3. Portrait of Philip Gilbert Hamerton

4. Evening: Emerald Lake, Vermont

5. North Dorset Valley, Vermont

6. Maple Sugar Camp, Laurentian Hills
7. Hiram's Path: John Burroughs' Beechwood
8. Chelsea Falls, Gatineau River
9. Hard Scrabble Brook, Catskills
10. Spring Freshet, Gatineau River
11. Cutting Corn
12. Laurentian Maples
13. Indian Summer, Bergen Beach
14. Old Homestead, Bergen Beach (Built in 1655)
15. Portrait Study
16. Sunrise
17. Boat Houses near Peekskill
18. Moonrise: Blue Sea Lake
19. Wayside Blossoms
20. The Autumn Catskills
21. Stratton Falls, Catskills

1925 James Wilson & Co., Ottawa, Early February

1. Eaton Chute, Gatineau River
 2. Oat Harvest, Chilcott's Farm
 12. Woodland Pasture, near Auvers
 16. Laurentian Maples, near St. Adele, P.Q.
 22. Sunset Through the Pines, Rockcliffe
 26. The Delaware Valley
 44. Coming Storm, Britannia Bay
- ...incomplete listing

1925 Art Association of Montreal 42nd Spring Exhibition, April 2-26

- | | |
|--|----------|
| #284. Laurentian Maples | \$250.00 |
| #285. Pine Point, Lake St. Joseph (w.c.) | \$50.00 |

1925 Royal Canadian Academy, Art Association of Montreal,
November 19-December 20

- #227. Moonrise, Blue Sea Lake

1925 Britnell's Gallery, Toronto, June
Group portrait of E.J. Philips, Betty and Leonard Jarvis

1929 Retrospective Exhibition of Robert J. Wickenden, Neighbourhood
Club Rooms, Brooklyn, Opening June 10
The Return of the Herd
...incomplete listing

1931 Exhibition of Painting and Sculpture by Brooklyn and Long
Island Artists, Long Island University, February 15-22
#137. Stratton Falls near Roxbury, N.Y. (Loaned John B. Fickling)
#138. Sunrise: Old Brooklyn

1931 Brooklyn Society of Artists 15th Annual Exhibition, Pratt
Institute Art Gallery, Brooklyn, April 10-May 4
#13. October Moon, Hudson Highlands
#24. Kathleen
#45. April, Plumtrees Valley, Conn.

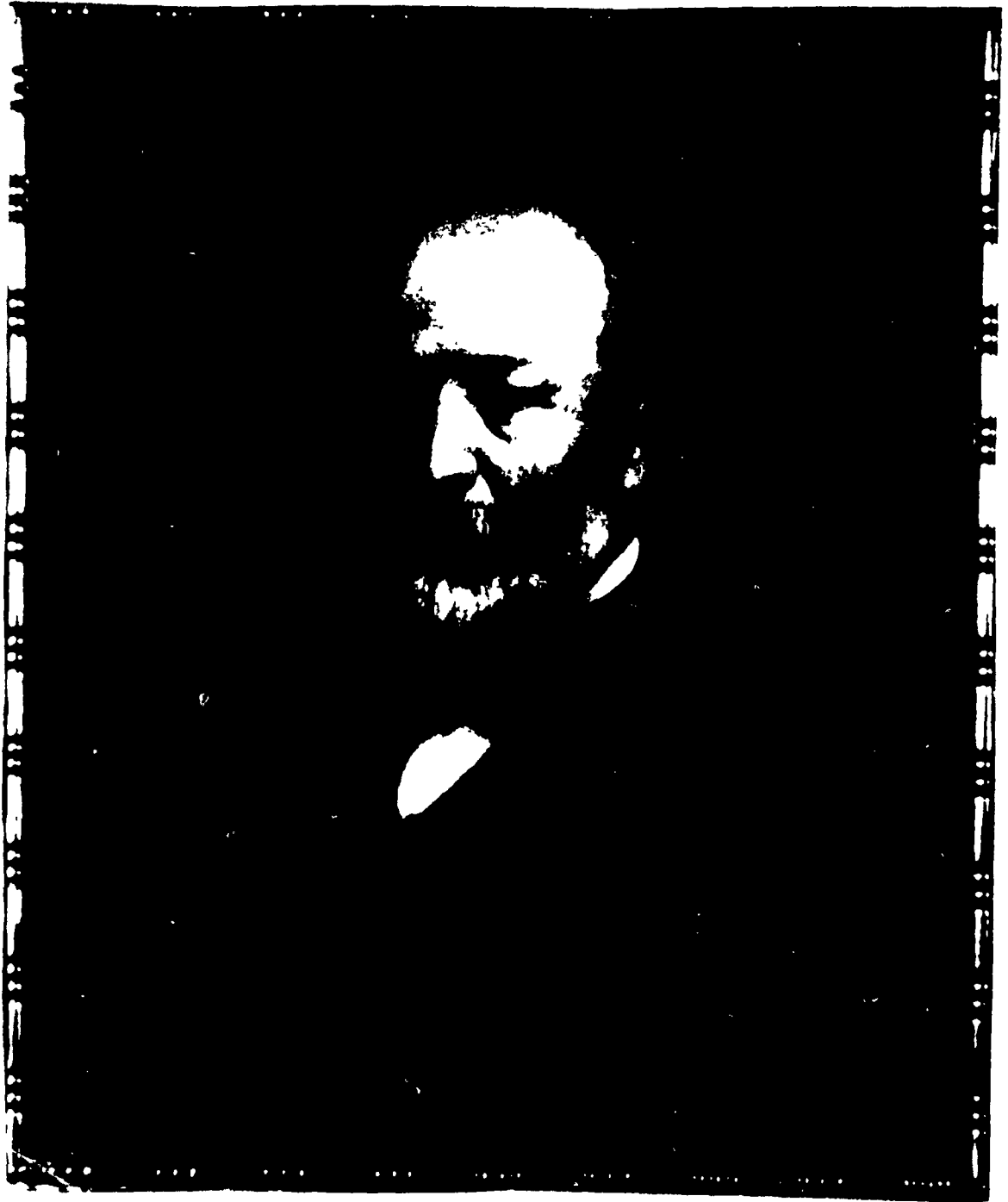
FIGURE NUMBERS



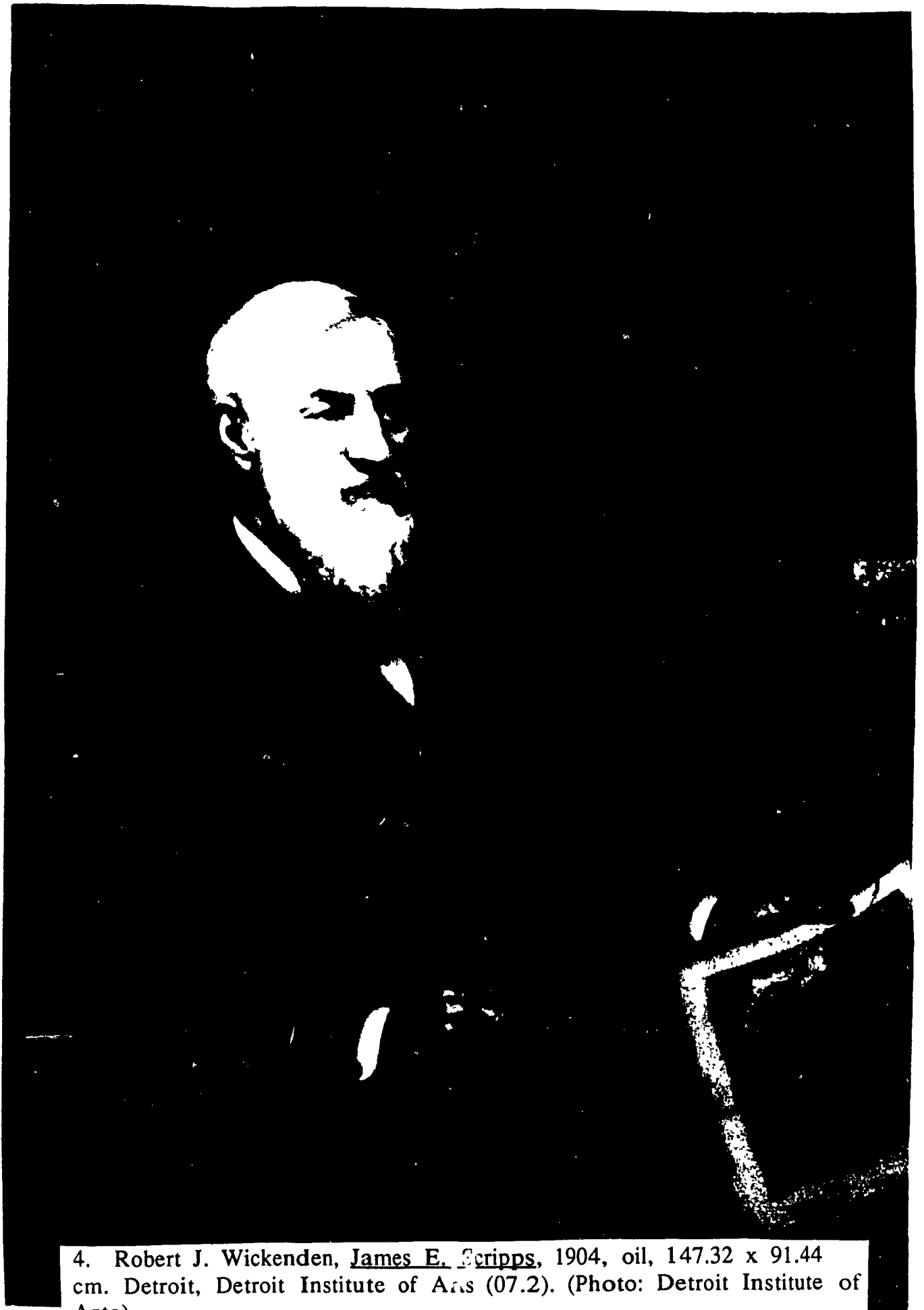
1. Ulpiano Checa, Les Deux Ages, n.d., lithograph, dimensions unknown. Montreal, private collection.



2. Robert J. Wickenden, Le Défricheur Canadien/The Canadian Woodsman, 1900, oil, 97.7 x 30.5 cm. Québec, Musée du Québec (P.2881). (Photo: Musée du Québec).



3. Robert J. Wickenden, Sir William Van Horne, 1906, oil, 36 x 32 in.
St.-Constant, Québec, Canadian Railway Museum (83.681). Photo:
Canadian Railway Museum.



4. Robert J. Wickenden, James E. Scripps, 1904, oil, 147.32 x 91.44 cm. Detroit, Detroit Institute of Arts (07.2). (Photo: Detroit Institute of Arts).

CATALOGUE NUMBERS



1. Robert J. Wickenden, Approach of Evening/L'Approche du Soir, 1891, transfer lithograph, 13 x 21.8 cm. Detroit, Detroit Institute of Arts (09.1S1249). (Photo: Detroit Institute of Arts)



2. Robert J. Wickenden, A Twilight Pastoral, 1891, transfer lithograph, 14 x 20.2 cm. Montreal, private collection.



3. Robert J. Wickenden, Song of the Adriatic, c.1891, lithograph, 31.2 x 21.2 cm. Montreal, private collection.



4. Robert J. Wickenden, La Fileuse/The Spinner, c. 1891, lithograph, 19 x 14.6 cm. Montreal, private collection.



5. Robert J. Wickenöfen, La Mère Panneçaye, 1893, transfer lithograph, 26.2 x 19.8 cm. New York Public Library (48/50).



6. Robert J. Wickenden, Frederick Keppel, 1893, transfer lithograph, 33.9 x 25.1 cm. New York Public Library.



7. Robert J. Wickenden, Madame Karl Daubigny, 1893, lithograph,
25 x 21.3 cm. Montreal, private collection.



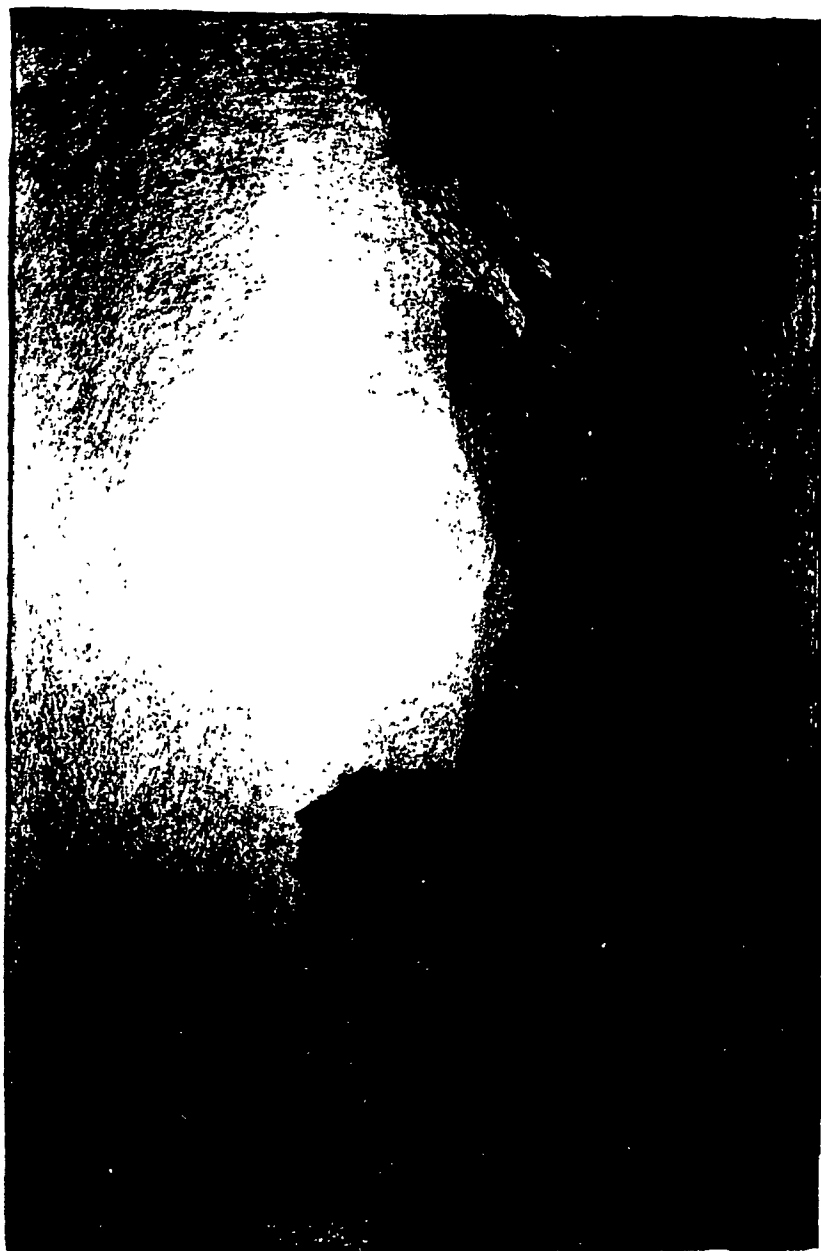
8. Robert J. Wickenden, Bernard Daubigny, c.1893, lithograph, 30.2 x 27 cm. Montreal, private collection.



9. Robert J. Wickenden, Madame Bégon, 1893, transfer lithograph, 25 x 21.6 cm. New York Public Library (38146).



10. Robert J. Wickenden, La Rentrée du Troupeau/The Return of the Flock, 1893, lithograph, 21.3 x 33.8 cm. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. (Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale)



11. Robert J. Wickenden, The Rise of the Harvest Moon/La Lune de la Moisson, 1893, lithograph, 27 x 41.5 cm. Montreal Museum of Fine Arts (Gr.1979.8). (Photo: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts)



12. Robert J. Wickenden, Le Père Jorelle, 1893, transfer lithograph, 29.4 x 23.3 cm. New York Public Library (38147).



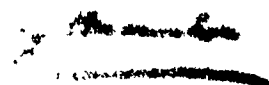
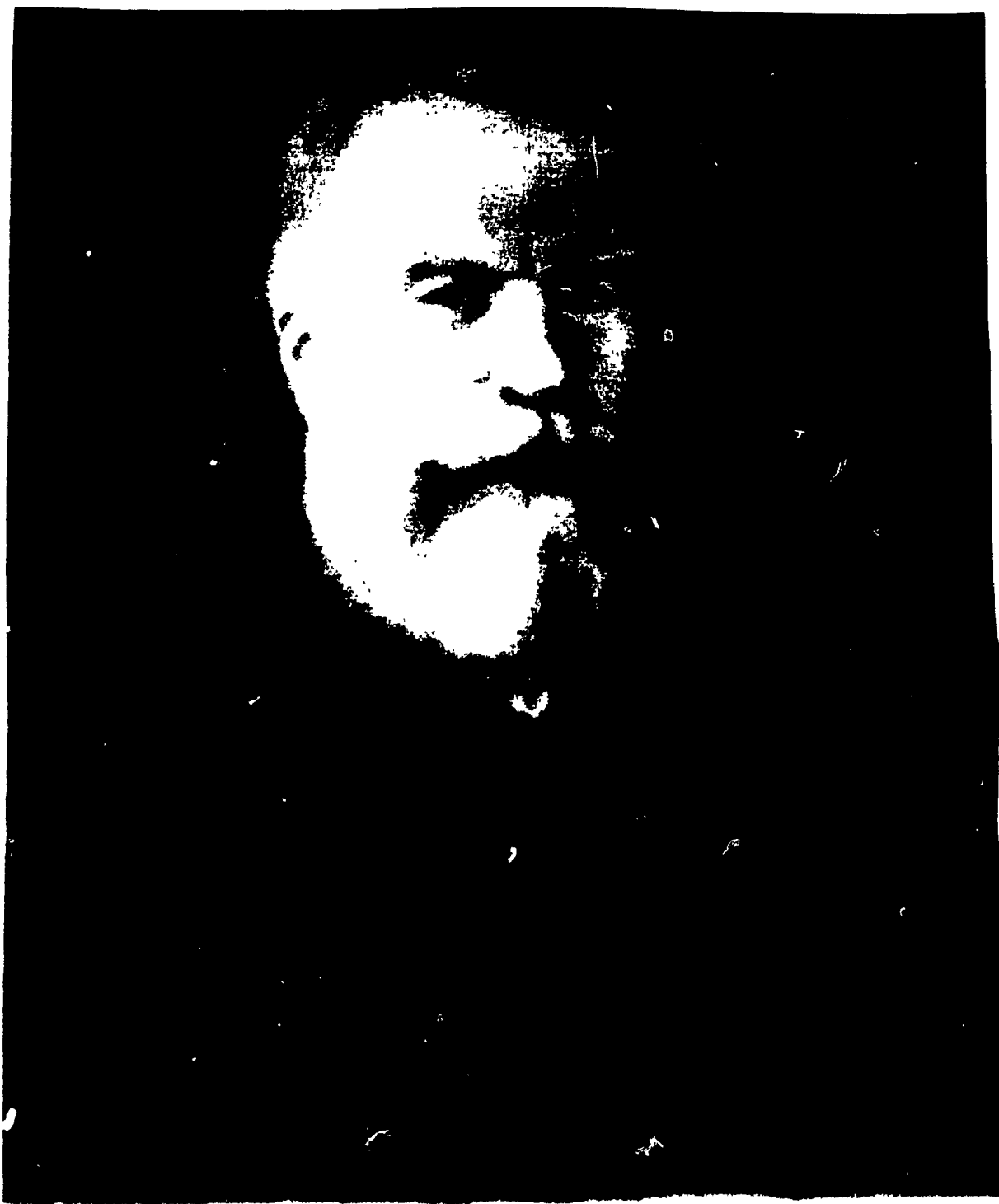
13. Robert J. Wickenden, Self-Portrait, 1894, lithograph, 18 x 16 cm. Montreal, private collection.



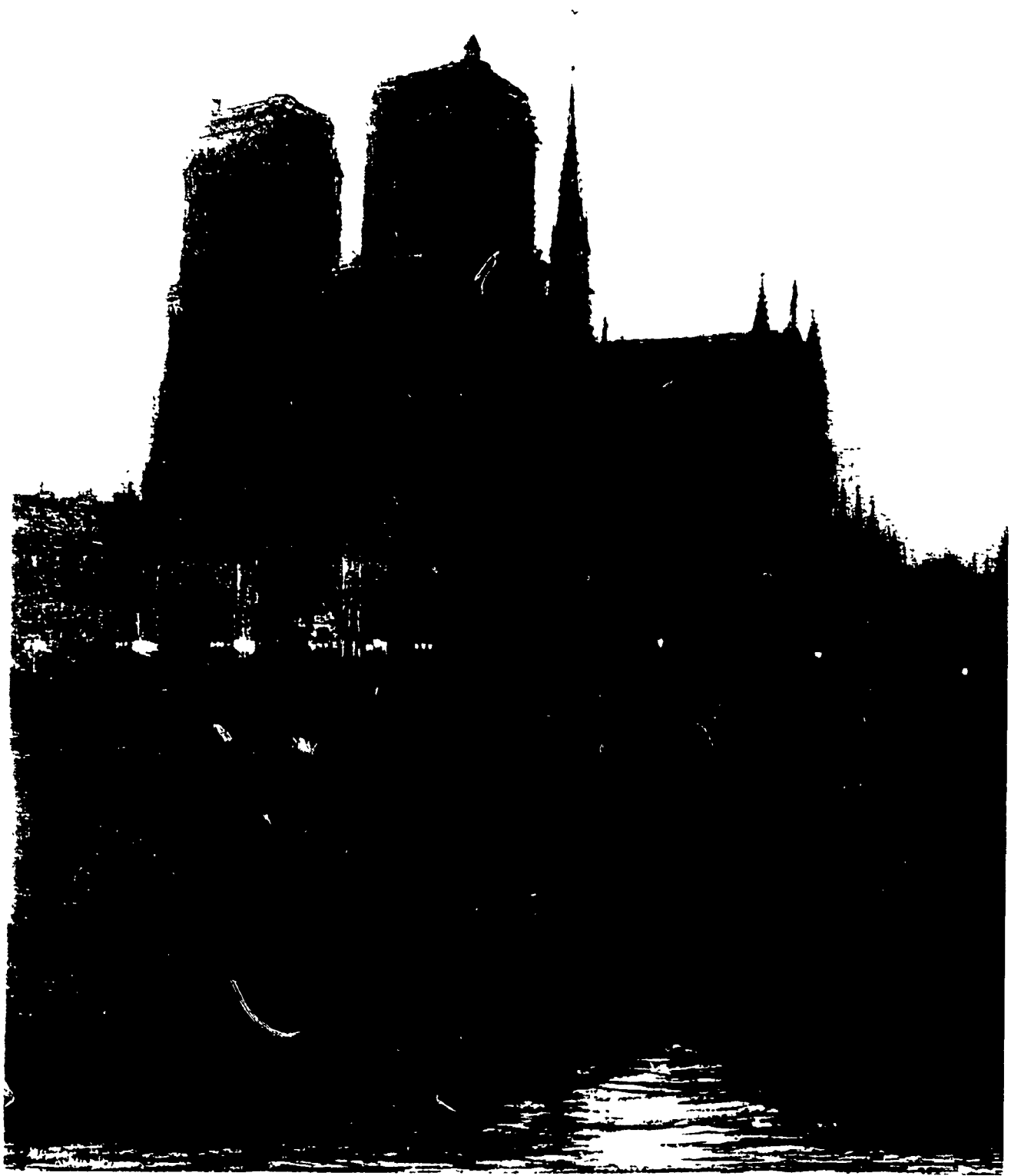
14. Robert J. Wickenden, Self-Portrait, n.d., lithograph, 18.3 x 15.8 cm. Montreal, private collection.



15. Robert J. Wickenden, Monsieur le Docteur Pierre Vanier, 1894, lithograph, 25.8 x 20.8 cm. New York Public Library (38149).



16. Robert J. Wickenden, Philip Gilbert Hamerton, 1894, transfer lithograph, 46.1 x 34.5 cm. New York Public Library (38150).



17. Robert J. Wickenden, Notre-Dame de Paris, 1894, lithograph, 59.5 x 48.5 cm. Québec, Musée du Québec (G.38.03). (Photo: Musée du Québec)



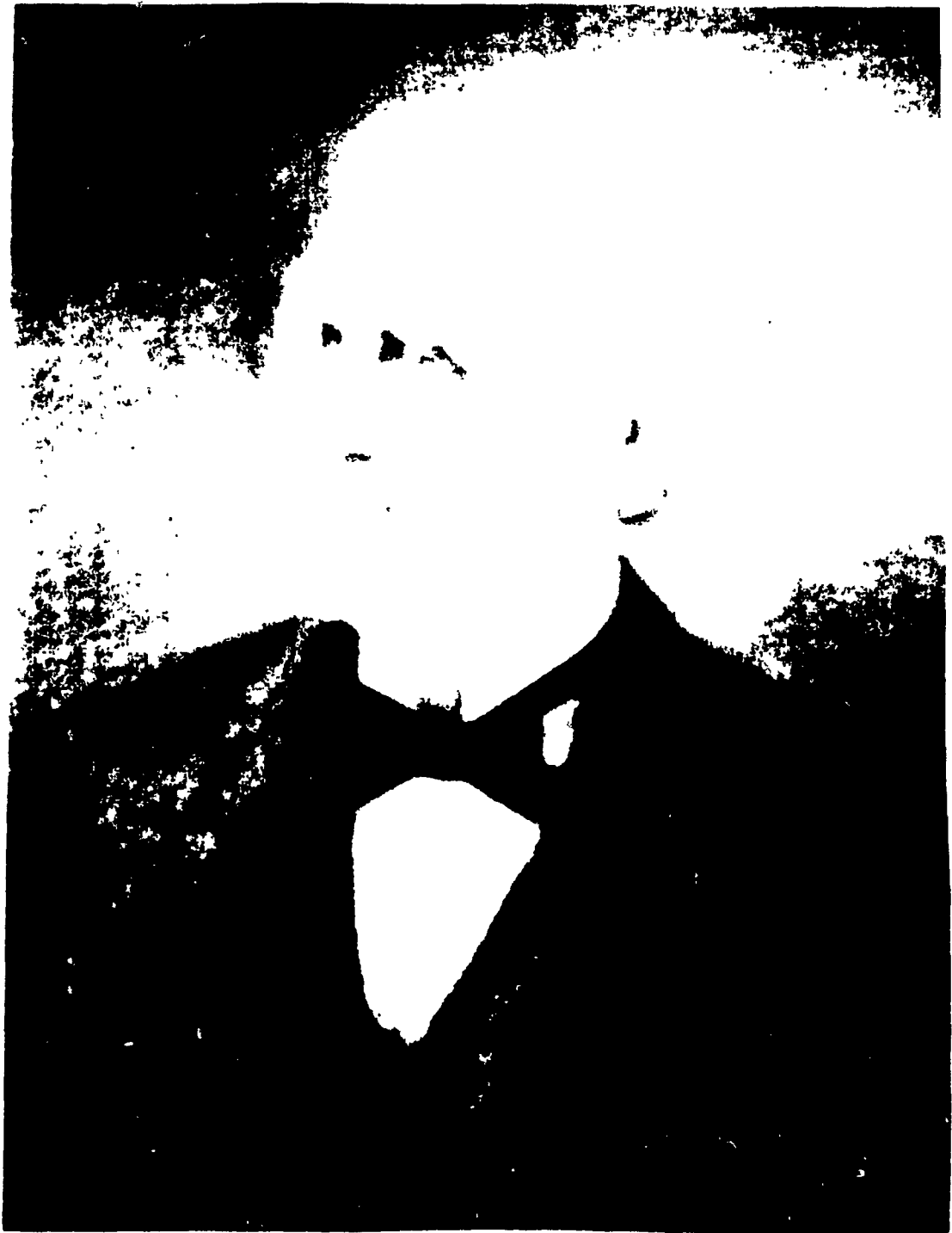
19. Robert J. Wickenden, Madame Duterte, later Madame Caffin, 1895, transfer lithograph, 26 x 21.5 cm. New York Public Library (38154).



20. Robert J. Wickenden, Female Portrait, 1895, lithograph, dimensions unknown. Montreal, private collection.



21. Robert J. Wickenden, Twilight in Arcadia/Le Crépuscule, 1896, lithograph, 40 x 58.8 cm. Québec: Musée du Québec (G38.2E). (Photo: Musée du Québec).



22. Robert J. Wickenden, Monsieur C., 1895, lithograph, dimensions unknown. Montreal, private collection. (This is a tentative identification.)



23. Robert J. Wickenden, Honourable Simon-Napoléon Parent, 1897, lithograph, 53.2 x 36.7 cm. Montreal, private collection.



24. Robert J. Wickenden, Sir Adolphe Chapleau, KCMG, 1897, transfer lithograph, 55.2 x 38.5 cm. New York Public Library (38155).



25. Robert J. Wickenden, Monseigneur Cyrille-Alfred Marois, c.1898, lithograph, dimensions unknown. Montreal, private collection.



26. Robert J. Wickenden, His Grace Monseigneur Louis-Nazaire B  gin, 1898, lithograph, 37.3 x 24.2 cm. Montreal, private collection.



27. Robert J. Wickenden, Cardinal Elzéar-Alexandre Taschereau, 1898, lithograph, 54.3 x 36.2 cm. New York Public Library (38157).



28. Robert J. Wickenden, By the Aegean Sea, 1898, lithograph, 30.3 x 47.8 cm. New York Public Library (38156).



29. Robert J. Wickenden, Le Défricheur Canadien/The Canadian Woodsman, 1901, lithograph, 36.2 x 50.3 cm. New York Public Library (38158).



30. Robert J. Wickenden, Québec from the Governor-General's Terrace Citadel, 1901, chromolithograph, 25.7 x 36.5 cm. Québec, Musée du Québec (A60.827E). (Photo: Musée du Québec)



31. Robert J. Wickenden, James McPherson Lemoine, 1902,
lithograph, 32 x 39.6 cm. New York Public Library (38159).



32. Robert J. Wickenden, Dr. John George Adami, 1904, lithograph, 34.5 x 28.4 cm. Montreal, private collection.



33. Robert J. Wickenden, Portrait of a Curator [Frank Weitenkampf], 1907, drawing on transfer paper, 27 x 36.2 cm. New York Public Library.



34. Robert J. Wickenden, Archbishop Timothy A. Casey, 1910, lithograph, dimensions unknown. Montreal, private collection.



35. Robert J. Wickenden, Sir Thomas More, after Albrecht Dürer, 1910, etching, 36.4 x 30 cm. Montreal, private collection.



36. Robert J. Wickenden, The Artist Frederick K. Detwiller, 1929, lithograph, 38 x 25 cm. New York Public Library (5/29).